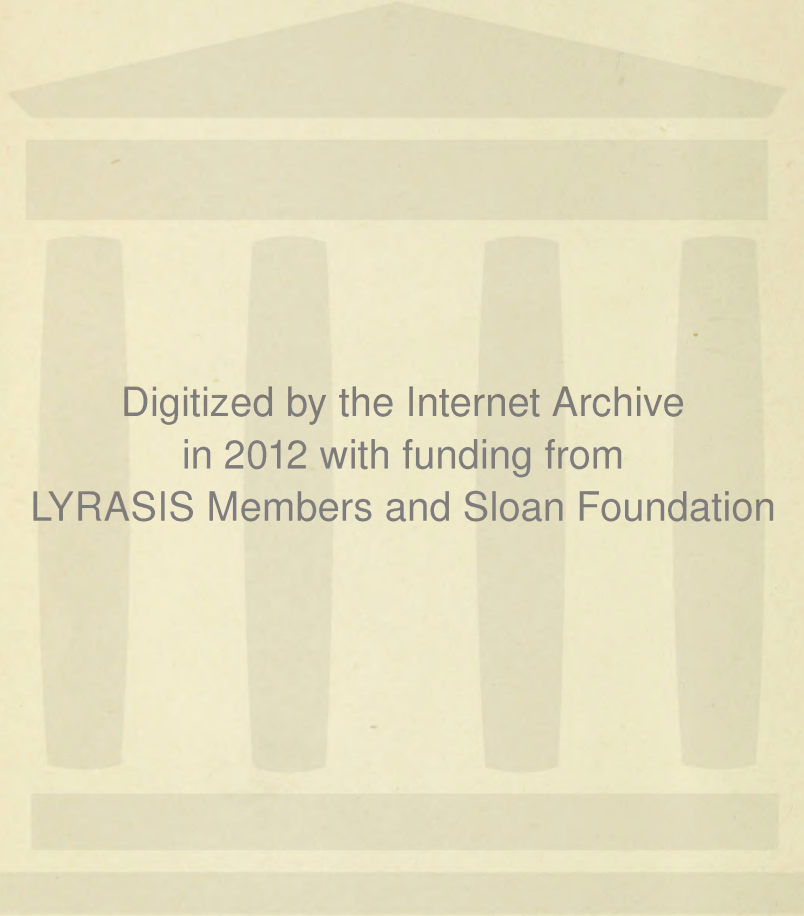


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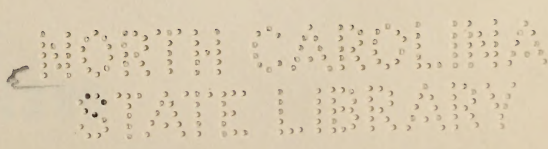
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Published by The North Carolina Historical Commission, Raleigh, N. C.

CHARLES CHRISTOPHER CRITTENDEN, *Editor*

DAVID LEROY CORBITT, *Managing Editor*

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ALLIANCE FROM
VOLUME 1772

THE NORTH CAROLINA HISTORICAL REVIEW

TABLE OF CONTENTS

VOLUME XVII

NUMBER 1, JANUARY, 1940

GOVERNOR VANCE AND THE PEACE MOVEMENT, PART I	1
---	---

RICHARD E. YATES

CONTEMPORARY OPINION OF HUGH WILLIAMSON....	26
---	----

DELBERT HAROLD GILPATRICK

UNPUBLISHED LETTERS FROM NORTH CAROLINIANS TO POLK—[<i>Continued</i>].....	37
--	----

ELIZABETH GREGORY MCPHERSON

BOOK REVIEWS	67
--------------------	----

NEWSOME's *The Presidential Election of 1824 in North Carolina*—By CLEMENT EATON; DOWD's *The Life of Braxton Craven. A Biographical Approach to Social Science*—By ROBERT T. THOMPSON; PUETT's *History of Gaston County*—By CLARENCE W. GRIFFIN; DAVIDSON's *Child Labor Legislation in the Southern Textile States*—By W. A. MABRY; COULTER's *The Other Half of Old New Orleans*—By THOMAS CARY JOHNSON; *A Century of Social Thought. A Series of Lectures Delivered at Duke University during the Academic Year 1938-1939 as a Part of the Centennial of that Institution*—By EDGAR W. KNIGHT.

HISTORICAL NEWS	80
-----------------------	----

NUMBER 2, APRIL, 1940

GOVERNOR VANCE AND THE PEACE MOVEMENT, PART II	89
RICHARD E. YATES	
THE GENTRY OF ANTE-BELLUM SOUTH CAROLINA	114
ROSSER HOWARD TAYLOR	
ADMIRALTY IN 1861. THE CONFEDERATE STATES DISTRICT COURT FOR THE DIVISION OF THE PAMLICO OF THE DISTRICT OF NORTH CAROLINA	132
WILLIAM MORRISON ROBINSON, JR.	
UNPUBLISHED LETTERS FOR NORTH CAROLINIANS TO POLK—[Continued].....	139
ELIZABETH GREGORY MCPHERSON	
NORTH CAROLINA BIBLIOGRAPHY, 1938-1939.....	167
MARY LINDSAY THORNTON	
BOOK REVIEWS	180
LOCKMILLER'S <i>History of the North Carolina State College of Agriculture and Engineering of the University of North Carolina, 1889-1939</i> —By RICHARD E. YATES; <i>Long's Son of Carolina</i> —By HOPE SUMMERELL CHAMBERLAIN; <i>Craven's The Repressible Conflict, 1830-1861</i> —By CHARLES S. SYDNOR; <i>DUMOND'S Antislavery Origins of the Civil War in the United States</i> —By FRANK L. OWSLEY; <i>McFERRIN'S Caldwell & Company: A Southern Financial Empire</i> —By W. A. MABRY.	
HISTORICAL NEWS	191
LETTERS TO THE EDITOR.....	195

NUMBER 3, JULY, 1940

ENROLLMENT RECORDS OF THE EASTERN BAND OF CHEROKEE INDIANS.....	199
--	-----

GASTON LITTON

A CENTURY BEFORE MANUMISSION—SIDELIGHTS ON SLAVERY IN MID-EIGHTEENTH CENTURY SOUTH CAROLINA	232
---	-----

MARGUERITE B. HAMER

SOUTHERN CONTRIBUTION TO THE SOCIAL ORDER OF THE OLD NORTHWEST.....	237
--	-----

JOHN D. BARNHART

UNPUBLISHED LETTERS FROM NORTH CARO- LINIANS TO POLK—[Concluded].....	249
--	-----

ELIZABETH GREGORY MCPHERSON

BOOK REVIEWS	267
--------------------	-----

North Carolina: A Guide to the Old North State—By ROBERT T. THOMPSON; *Five North Carolina Negro Educators*—By JOHN HOPE FRANKLIN; *FOLMSBEE'S Sectionalism and Internal Improvements in Tennessee, 1796-1845*—By JOSEPH CARLYLE SITTERSON; *The Social Philosophy of John Taylor of Caroline*—By C. VANN WOODARD; *HILL'S Joseph E. Brown and the Confederacy*—By OLLINGER CRENSHAW; *LLOYD'S The Slavery Controversy, 1831-1860*—By CHARLES S. SYDNOR.

HISTORICAL NEWS	281
-----------------------	-----

OCTOBER, 1940

NORTH CAROLINA'S RATIFICATION OF THE FEDERAL CONSTITUTION	287
ALBERT RAY NEWSOME	
AN ANTE-BELLUM ATTEMPT TO REGULATE THE PRICE AND SUPPLY OF COTTON.....	302
THOMAS PAYNE GOVAN	
REPERCUSSIONS OF MANUFACTURING IN THE ANTE-BELLUM SOUTH	313
FABIAN LINDEN	
CALIFORNIA'S LARKIN SETTLES OLD DEBTS: A VIEW OF NORTH CAROLINA, 1847-1856.....	332
ROBERT J. PARKER and DAVID LEROY CORBITT	
THE HORSE SOCIETY	347
DOUGLAS LETELL RIGHTS	
BOOK REVIEWS	356
SITTERSON'S <i>The Secession Movement in North Carolina</i> —By A. J. HANNA; <i>Old Homes and Gardens of North Carolina</i> — By HUGH T. LEFLER; COUPER'S <i>One Hundred Years at V. M. I.</i> —By ROBERT DOUTHAT MEADE; HILLDRUP'S <i>The Life and Times of Edmund Pendleton</i> —By C. C. PEARSON; CHITWOOD'S <i>John Tyler: Champion of the Old South</i> —By WENDELL HOLMES STEPHENSON.	
HISTORICAL NEWS	368

THE NORTH CAROLINA HISTORICAL REVIEW

VOLUME XVII

JANUARY, 1940

NUMBER 1

CONTENTS

GOVERNOR VANCE AND THE PEACE MOVEMENT, PART I	1
RICHARD E. YATES	
CONTEMPORARY OPINION OF HUGH WILLIAMSON	26
DELBERT HAROLD GILPATRICK	
UNPUBLISHED LETTERS FROM NORTH CARO- LINIANS TO POLK—[Continued]	37
ELIZABETH GREGORY MCPHERSON	
BOOK REVIEWS	67
<i>NEWSOME's The Presidential Election of 1824 in North Caro- lina</i> —By CLEMENT EATON; <i>DOWD's The Life of Braxton Craven. A Biographical Approach to Social Science</i> —By ROBERT T. THOMPSON; <i>PUETT's History of Gaston County</i> —By CLARENCE W. GRIFFIN; <i>DAVIDSON's Child Labor Legis- lation in the Southern Textile States</i> —By W. A. MABRY; <i>COULTER's The Other Half of Old New Orleans</i> —By THOMAS CARY JOHNSON; <i>A Century of Social Thought. A Series of Lectures Delivered at Duke University during the Academic Year 1938-1939 as a Part of the Centennial Celebration of That Institution</i> —By EDGAR W. KNIGHT.	
HISTORICAL NEWS	80

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GOVERNOR VANCE AND THE PEACE MOVEMENT

By RICHARD E. YATES

Part I

In the closing weeks of 1863 Governor Zebulon B. Vance found himself confronted with a problem so grave and so complicated that an ill-advised solution of it might easily have ruined his political career. He was compelled to make a decision, momentous not only for himself but for his State and the Confederacy as well. Should he align himself with what he thought was a majority of his people and demand that the war be stopped, even if the South had to content itself with a settlement short of independence; or should he break loose from a number of his most influential supporters, do his best to crush the peace movement, and perhaps find himself defeated in the 1864 gubernatorial election? It required many anxious days, filled with correspondence and interviews with his advisers, before the popular young governor could answer this question and plot his political course.

Vance had been elected in August, 1862, by the old Whigs, Know-Nothings, and disgruntled Democrats (organized into the Conservative party), many of whom were opposed to important Confederate policies¹ and who voted for Vance as an expression of their dissatisfaction with the Confederate and state administrations. It should not be supposed, however, that Vance ran on a platform of opposition to Davis's administration, or that his victory was an indication that the people of North Carolina were tired of the war and ready to make peace.

¹ Such as the conscription act and the suspension of the writ of *habeas corpus*.

Leaders of the Confederate (Democratic) party, it is true, asserted that a vote for Vance was a vote against the Confederacy, and Conservative party leaders complained more about Davis's administration than was perhaps necessary in a state campaign. But both sides were engaged in those political maneuvers which are more effective than logical; and Vance never indicated, by speech or letter, that he was opposed to any Confederate policies. Thus, when he was elected by a large majority, he was in a peculiarly fortunate position: he had profited from the dissatisfaction with the Confederate administration, but he had not obligated himself to lead the dissatisfied group.

For a while after the governor's inauguration in September, 1862, the political scene in North Carolina was smooth and unruffled. In his inaugural address Vance announced his determination to prosecute the war with vigor, and leaders of both parties hastened to give evidence of their support. Before many months of 1863 had elapsed, however, some influential members of the Conservative party began severely to criticize the Confederate administration and to demand a peace with the North. This was the beginning of that ominous peace movement which split the Conservative party, placed North Carolina in a bad light with her confederates, and piled upon Vance's shoulders responsibilities such as he had never before borne.

Ever since the war began there had of course been some discontent in North Carolina, sporadic and unorganized though it was. But by the opening months of 1863 this discontent and longing for peace had found a leader in William W. Holden, editor of the *Raleigh Standard*, organizer of the Conservative party, and one of the most astute politicians in the State.² Even after his party had triumphed in the gubernatorial election of 1862, he continued to attack the Confederate administration with ever increasing vigor. He was especially displeased by the execution of the conscription laws, the impressment of supplies, the arbitrary acts of Confederate officers,

² Just what motives inspired the conduct of Holden between 1863 and the end of the war, the records do not reveal, but they strongly suggest that he hoped to create a political storm which would sweep him into the governor's chair. Some believed that he was a Unionist at heart and hoped to carry the State back into the Federal Union. See Tatum, Georgia Lee, *Disloyalty in the Confederacy* (Chapel Hill, 1934), p. 133.

and the allegedly unfair treatment accorded his State. "North Carolina is badly treated," he wrote. "She is ignored. She has no voice in the cabinet. She is raked for conscripts as with a fine-tooth comb. Her troops are always placed in the forefront of the hottest battles. . . . North Carolina must be the equal of the other states of the Confederacy, or she will leave it, and endeavor to take care of herself."³

This was not the first time that Holden had presumed to speak for the whole State, but perhaps it was the first time he had threatened to take North Carolina out of the Southern Confederacy. Such an extreme position, however, was hardly tenable, and a few days later he veered his course by demanding that the Confederate authorities open negotiations for peace. "The people of both sections," he declared, "are tired of war and desire peace. We desire it on terms honorable to our section and we cannot expect it on terms dishonorable to the other section." The friends of peace in both the North and the South, he urged, "should give utterance to their own views, and should thus pave the way for negotiations, to which both sections must at last come, as the only means for closing the contest."⁴ A few weeks later Holden severely criticized the Richmond administration for "its incapacity, its mismanagement of our affairs," and expressed the despondent view that the South would be defeated and reconstructed. Moreover, "if the people of this State, with subjugation or restoration staring them in the face as alternatives, should sadly and reluctantly accept the latter, it would not be in our power to prevent it, even if we would."⁵

Throughout the summer of 1863, and until he temporarily suspended publication in September, Holden continued his policy of criticizing the Confederate government, calling attention to North Carolina's "mistreatment," and demanding that peace negotiations be opened.

Just what would constitute an "honorable peace," he refrained from explaining, but some of the newspapers were certain that he was planning for a reunion with the United States.

³ *Weekly Standard* (Raleigh), June 3, 1863. (Files of all newspapers used in this study will be found in the North Carolina State Library, Raleigh.)

⁴ *Weekly Standard*, June 24, 1863.

⁵ *Ibid.*, July 29, 1863; see also issue of August 19, 1863.

This charge he vigorously denied. "We are not in favor of 'reunion with our enemies,'" he declared, "or of 'submission to them.'"⁶ A number of political observers were convinced, however, that Holden was preparing for the State's reëntry into the Union. "The Gov. and the Legislature," Treasurer Jonathan Worth wrote to his brother, in August, 1863, "stood pretty square on the Conservative Platform 'The last man and the last dollar' rather than reconstruction. Holden was himself committed to it, but he believed the masses were for reconstruction; and while he disavows it as yet, is slowly shaping his sails for this current. . . . He will be ready to ride on the storm. I draw this inference, not from anything he has said, but from the fact that his worst enemies who are not stupid, accord to him superior understanding, great sagacity, and his demand for peace movements, on any other supposition, are absurd."⁷

While Holden was "slowly shaping his sails" for the reconstruction tempest, he was given considerable support by another Raleigh editor, who also denied being in favor of reunion. J. L. Pennington, editor of *The Daily Progress*, preceded even Holden in his demands for peace. He believed in April, 1863, "that a settlement on the basis of separation may be had if the people of the two sections favorable to peace be allowed to express their wishes."⁸ The next step was taken in May, when the editor denied being in favor of reconstruction, but issued a demand for "peace—now—and upon any terms consistent with the rights and honor of our section."⁹ A few weeks later the editor of the *Progress*, who apparently had close connections with Holden, made another step in the direction of peace. "We have thought for the last eight months," he wrote, "that it would be better for us to have peace upon any terms that would not absolutely degrade us than prolong the struggle, but power in this country has passed from the people, North and South, and we see no chance for peace but in the exhaustion and defeat of one of the parties."¹⁰ This somewhat vague appeal to the people was clarified in a later

⁶ *Weekly Standard*, July 29, 1863.

⁷ Hamilton, J. G. de Roulhac (editor), *The Correspondence of Jonathan Worth* (Raleigh, 1909), I, 254.

⁸ *The Daily Progress* (Raleigh), April 3, 1863.

⁹ *Ibid.*, May 1, 1863.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, July 29, 1863.

issue, when the *Progress* revealed its plan of obtaining a negotiated peace by suggesting that the states of both sections appoint commissioners, who would meet and agree upon a peace which was to be ratified by a majority of the people.¹¹

While the editors of the *Standard* and the *Progress* were pleading for peace and denouncing the Confederate government for not opening negotiations with a victorious enemy, a large number of public meetings were held in the central and western counties of the State during the month of August, 1863, in which resolutions were passed demanding that the authorities negotiate for peace. Since the meetings in more than twenty counties were held within a few days of one another and since they adopted resolutions in striking conformity with the editorial policies of the *Standard* and the *Progress*, there can be little doubt that these newspapers had some connection with the meetings. It is extremely doubtful whether citizens so far removed from one another as those in Henderson and Greene counties would have met at the same time and would have adopted almost identical resolutions, unless some hand of leadership had moved between them.¹²

Indeed, the resolutions of most of the meetings seemed to bear a common stamp. In the first section the Confederate government was denounced for the many abuses growing out of conscription, impressments, the tax-in-kind, and the appointment of men from other states to hold office in North Carolina.¹³ The second section of most of the resolutions demanded negotiations for an "honorable peace," but there was little uniformity in the methods of negotiation suggested. A Johnston County meeting asked for a general convention of all the states of the former Union.¹⁴ Some citizens of Yadkin County urged "our authorities to take some steps that will accomplish a speedy and lasting peace, as we think there has been blood enough spilt, and the country is near enough exhausted." This meeting resolved, moreover, "That we request our State authorities to call a State convention forthwith for the purpose of effecting a peace."¹⁵ In Surry County a meeting openly em-

¹¹ *Ibid.*, August 10, 1863.

¹² On this point, see *The Weekly Raleigh Register*, August 5, 12, 1863.

¹³ See proceedings of these meetings in the *Weekly Standard*, August 12, 1863.

¹⁴ *Loc. cit.*

¹⁵ *Loc. cit.*

braced reconstruction when it resolved "That in our opinion, under the circumstances, the best thing the people of North-Carolina could do would be to go in for the 'Constitution as it is, and the Union as it was.'"¹⁶ Some citizens of Davidson County were so sanguine that they unwittingly offered a bit of comic relief. They "requested" Jefferson Davis "to suspend hostilities, and propose a Convention of all the States" to obtain peace.¹⁷

Diverse as the second sections of the resolutions were, there was remarkable uniformity in the concluding sections. They invariably praised Holden and gave his newspaper the first authority to publish the resolutions.¹⁸ In this respect the peace meetings were rarely disappointed, for in the single issue of August 12 Holden published the proceedings of more than ten of the meetings. Several newspapers in the State thought it apparent that Holden was organizing a political party which he intended to lead in the election of 1864.¹⁹ "If Gov. Vance cannot see the drift of all this," the *State Journal* declared, "if he will not see that Holden's object is to shelve him at the expiration of his first term and become a candidate himself, we can't help it."²⁰

Regardless of the political motives that may have inspired Holden, he received not a little aid from Jonathan Worth, state treasurer and a Unionist who longed for the death of the Confederacy and for reconstruction. Late in July, 1863, when the *Standard* was approaching dangerously near to treason, Worth cautiously fostered the peace movement by encouraging his friends to aid it. To Jesse G. Henshaw, of Randolph County, he sent assurances that the *Standard* was the most powerful and influential newspaper in the State, and urged him to send in two hundred new subscribers from Randolph. "Every one desiring peace," he wrote, "can contribute something to this end by encouraging and sustaining the only paper which dares advocate it on a plan offering any hope of success."²¹ A few

¹⁶ *Weekly Standard*, August 12, 1863.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, August 19, 1863.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, August 12, 1863. For some unexplained reason, the *Progress* did not publish the proceedings of the meetings until late in January, 1864.

¹⁹ *The Weekly Raleigh Register*, August 12, 1863.

²⁰ *The Weekly State Journal* (Raleigh), August 5, 1863.

²¹ Hamilton (editor), *The Correspondence of Jonathan Worth*, I, 245.

weeks later he informed Henshaw that he was "for peace on *almost any terms* and fear we shall not have it until the Yankees dictate it." He favored the peace meetings, therefore, because he saw "no other chance to get an early end of this wicked war, but by the action of the masses who have the fighting to do."²² To his brother, J. M. Worth, the treasurer sent assurances that Holden was not stirring up trouble, but was merely representing and leading those who longed for peace. "The editor," he explained, "has always understood the popular mind better than anybody else and always keeps up the right sail to catch the breeze."²³

Despite this charitable view of Holden's activities, it seems probable that the editor of the *Standard* did more than merely "catch the breeze"; in some instances he caught it and stirred it into a whirlwind by his fierce denunciation of the Richmond administration and by his repeated demands for peace negotiations. Many officers of the army were convinced that the editorials of the *Standard* and the *Progress* added to the desertion which so decreased the power of the Confederacy,²⁴ and on several occasions captured deserters stated just before their execution that reading the *Standard* had induced them to abandon their comrades.²⁵ By indirect means also the peace meetings and the editorials of the *Standard* were probably responsible for more desertion. In the western counties of the State a number of persons, convinced that North Carolina would soon secede from the Confederacy, urged their sons, husbands, and brothers in the army to come home.²⁶

Aside from increasing desertion, the peace movement encouraged the North to continue its efforts to subjugate the South, for the movement strengthened the belief that the Confederacy was torn by dissension and would soon be too weak for resistance.²⁷ Reports of the disaffection in North Carolina spread as far as England, and were so distorted that they

²² *Ibid.*, p. 258.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 253.

²⁴ *The Daily Progress*, August 11, 1863.

²⁵ *Weekly Confederate* (Raleigh), February 24, 1864; Lieutenant I. M. Goff to Colonel Bryan Grimes, February 9, 1864. Governor's Papers, Zebulon B. Vance, 1864, February, MS. (All manuscript sources used in this study will be found in the archives of the North Carolina Historical Commission, Raleigh.)

²⁶ *The Western Democrat* (Charlotte), February 9, 1864; *The War of the Rebellion: Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, Series I, Vol. XXIII, Pt. II, p. 952.

²⁷ Davis to Vance, August 22, 1863. Z. B. Vance Papers, III. MS.; *The Weekly Raleigh Register*, March 25, 1863.

even pictured Vance as disgusted with secession and desirous of reunion.²⁸

Since the peace movement promised to be so dangerous in its effects and since it showed slight chance of leading to an "honorable peace," most of the important newspapers of the State turned upon the editor of the *Standard* and vigorously attacked his policies. In this editorial assault, which lasted from June, 1863, until near the end of the following year, the state press overlooked few opportunities to make Holden appear odious in the eyes of the people. Many newspapers insinuated that he was a traitor, and some made the charge outright.²⁹ Nor did his personal character escape unscathed. The *State Journal* referred to him as a "desperate and despicable black-leg,"³⁰ while the *Register* described him as an "unscrupulous and crafty editor," who appealed to the "vulgar prejudices" of the disaffected, "by whom he lives, and moves, and has his being."³¹ A week later the editor of the *Register*, who had moved his newspaper to Petersburg, wrote a short biography of Holden in which he declared that the editor's parents did not deem "it necessary to have their union legalized by a ceremony performed by either Priest or 'Squire.'"³²

But the most persistent and widespread attacks upon Holden ignored personalities and condemned the peace movement which he was leading. "We favor 'peace,'" the *Milton Chronicle* observed, "but how in the deuce can *we* grant 'peace' without cowardly giving up everything we are contending for?"³³ To the *Wilmington Journal* it was apparent that the movement would lead to submission and reconstruction, for if each of the states commenced negotiations with the "consolidated despotism of Abraham Lincoln," an opening wedge would be made "that will be driven home until it rends us asunder."³⁴

Of all the newspapers in the State which attacked Holden, none but the *Fayetteville Observer* attempted to reason with him. The *Observer* never forgot that Holden had been partly

²⁸ *The Daily Progress*, October 17, 1863; Francis Lawley to Vance, December 22, 1863. Z. B. Vance Papers, III.

²⁹ *The Western Democrat*, September 1, 1863; *The Weekly Raleigh Register*, July 29, 1863.

³⁰ *The Weekly State Journal*, July 8, 1863.

³¹ *The Weekly Register* (Petersburg), October 17, 1863.

³² *Ibid.*, October 23, 1863.

³³ Quoted by *The Weekly State Journal*, August 5, 1863.

³⁴ *Wilmington Journal*, November 26, 1863.

responsible for the election of Vance in 1862, and hopes were entertained that the great power of the *Standard* might be thrown against the peace movement. In a long and conciliatory editorial, the *Observer* appealed to the *Standard*, "to its good sense, its love of country, its every feeling of humanity, to use its influence to discountenance the meetings which its friends are holding in various parts of the state."³⁵ Although meeting with a rebuff,³⁶ the patient editor persisted in his efforts. Early in September, 1863, he wrote Holden a friendly letter, urging him to abandon the peace movement which was causing desertion, producing defiance of the laws, and arraying "the people almost in deadly strife."³⁷ Holden soon indicated, however, that he had no intention of discouraging the peace movement, and the *Observer* then joined the Raleigh editor's other enemies and attacked him with a will.³⁸

In the meantime the Confederate authorities were becoming alarmed over the peace movement in North Carolina. Late in July President Davis received a letter from "one of the most distinguished citizens" in the State, who informed him that "trouble is fast brewing here and I fear we shall soon have open resistance to the government under the leadership of that reckless politician, Holden, Editor of the *Standard*." Davis immediately wrote Vance, enclosed an excerpt of the letter, and declared that "the case is quite grave enough for me to consult with you on the subject, . . ."³⁹ Vance approved this suggestion for a personal interview, and early in August he went to Richmond to see the President. Despite the importance of this interview, no record of it remains except that which is contained in a letter from Vance to Hale. "I returned from Richmond on Saturday," the governor wrote hurriedly. "Was much gratified with my visit indeed—I plainly told the President of the cause of his unpopularity in this State and the injustice done us by his appointments and gave him a fair & unvarnished statement of affairs here—He promised to remove all objectionable men and almost gave me a *carte blanche* for the redress

³⁵ *Fayetteville Observer*, August 17, 1863.

³⁶ *Semi-Weekly Standard*, August 25, 1863, quoted by *ibid.*, October 26, 1863.

³⁷ This letter has not been found, but a communication from Editor Hale to Vance on September 9, 1863 (Z. B. Vance Papers, III), gives the substance of it.

³⁸ See the issues of the *Fayetteville Observer* during September, 1863.

³⁹ Davis to Vance, July 24, 1863. Z. B. Vance Papers, II.

of grievances here—I trust that things will be better now that we are understood at Richmond.”⁴⁰

If Vance, as this letter intimates, told Davis that the cause of the trouble in North Carolina lay in presidential appointments, then he did both himself and the President a great injustice. He must have known that the peace movement was caused by policies and conditions which grew out of the war—impressment of supplies, conscription, scarcity of food products, high prices, Union sentiment, and the death of fathers and husbands and sons on the battlefield—together with the agitation led by Holden and his friends.

Long before making the journey to Richmond, Vance had already shown in his correspondence with Hale that the activities of Holden caused him great worry, and he intimated that some measures should be taken to cope with the peace movement, although for several months he could not bring himself to break with the man who edited the organ of his own party. “I wish to talk with you about some matters,” he wrote, “seriously affecting the status of the party which elevated me to office, and perhaps the good of the Confederate cause itself, and I hardly wish to put any thing I desire to say on paper.”⁴¹

Subsequent correspondence fails to reveal whether or not Hale appeared for the interview, but it is certain that the governor’s anxiety continued. He prevailed upon Ex-Governors William A. Graham and D. L. Swain to talk with Holden and attempt to turn him from his course. Aside from revealing the goal towards which the editor was proceeding, however, the appeals of Vance’s friends did little good. “He pretends & may be really of opinion,” the governor informed Hale, “that 4/5ths of the people are ready for reconstruction & says he is only following the people not leading them. . . .” Vance himself had a “very long talk” with Holden, but he had no effect upon that determined man except to obtain a promise that he would “say in his paper that he was not my organ in this matter and did not speak my sentiments.” The governor thought it all important, he continued in his letter to Hale, “that the people should know my sentiments,” for the delusion that he and

⁴⁰ Vance to Hale, August 11, 1863. E. J. Hale Papers, II.

⁴¹ Vance to Hale, June 10, 1863. E. J. Hale Papers, II.

Holden agreed on the peace movement "likely accounts for much of his popularity." "I do not see much help for a split," Vance concluded mournfully. "I fear it must come, tho' Holden says he will not make it. I wish very much you would write to our prominent men to use their influence with him."⁴²

While Vance was trying to kill the peace movement by persuading Holden to abandon it, newspapers and influential men were advising the young governor to repudiate the editor of the *Standard* and to assure the people that he stood for a continuation of the war until the South had won its independence. "Let the people but stand by President Davis and Gov. Vance," advised the *State Journal*, organ of the moribund Confederate party, "and let the Governor discard the evil associations to which he is exposed, and set the people a proper example in this matter."⁴³ A month later the *Journal* directly addressed the governor and demanded that he openly oppose the peace movement. It was agreed, that newspaper declared, that Vance was "a true man, faithful to the cause of Southern Independence. But unfortunately for you, you have been supported by some, whose whole course since the war began, has been that of *steady* and *real* opposition to Southern independence, . . ." The political association between Vance and Holden should be broken, and the dissolution of the partnership should be publicly announced. "YOU MUST NOW TAKE SOME WELL-DEFINED POSITION. You cannot be neutral where the safety and honor of the State are concerned."⁴⁴

The Confederate chaplain at Raleigh, in a letter to Editor Hale, also expressed the opinion that Vance should openly break his political relations with Holden. "Governor Vance must now take some position," wrote the chaplain; "he cannot idly stand by and see our cause lost in this State. . . . I beg of you . . . to advise him . . . and to do it without ceasing. I believe him to be a true man to our cause, but perhaps he may lack nerve and strength of character."⁴⁵ Before he received this letter, however, Hale advised Vance that, unless the *Standard* could be induced to change its course, the governor

⁴² Vance to Hale, July 26, 1863. E. J. Hale Papers, II.

⁴³ *The Weekly State Journal*, June 24, 1863.

⁴⁴ *The Weekly State Journal*, July 29, 1863.

⁴⁵ Frederick Fitzgerald to E. J. Hale, July 24, 1863. E. J. Hale Papers, II.

would be under the necessity of "letting it be known on all suitable occasions, & in all proper ways, that you and your friends do not only not conive [*sic*] with it but most decidedly condemn its course."⁴⁶ A few days later Vance wrote the Fayetteville editor that "the split with Holden is decreed of the Gods—I have made up my mind to it and am preparing for it any day—tho' I don't intend to 'precipitate' it. . . . He is for submission, reconstruction or anything else that will put him back under Lincoln & stop the war— . . ." Unwilling to initiate the break himself, Vance nevertheless advised Hale to begin an editorial assault upon the editor of the *Standard*. "Pitch into him," he urged. "Cry aloud and spare not—My life popularity and everything shall go into this contest."⁴⁷

Although cheered by these brave words from Vance, the editor of the *Fayetteville Observer* was not altogether pleased at the intimation of "a conclusion not to issue an address or Proclamation, that shall distinctly draw a line between yourself and all disaffected. I am persuaded that no time is to be lost, if you would put a stop to the use of *your* popularity & influence by your enemies & the enemies of the cause."⁴⁸

In accordance with Hale's advice, Vance determined upon the publication of an open letter which, once and for all, would draw a line between himself and Holden. In reply to a communication from John H. Haughton, of Chatham County, this seventeen-page letter presented a bold statement of Vance's attitude towards the peace movement. "I can only look upon propositions of peace coming from us," he wrote, "no matter how pure & patriotic the motive which induces them, as involving national dishonor, ruin and disgrace." Apparently referring to the editor of the *Standard*, Vance declared that "there may be a designing few who desire to take advantage of the suffering and patriotic many to lead them into this inevitable ruin with hopes of peace."⁴⁹ Having written a long, unequivocal letter which would separate him from Holden's views, Vance then made a strange move indeed. He showed the letter to Holden and asked his opinion of it. The editor,

⁴⁶ Hale to Vance, July 24, 1863. Z. B. Vance Papers, II.

⁴⁷ Vance to Hale, August 11, 1863. E. J. Hale Papers, II.

⁴⁸ Hale to Vance, August 13, 1863. Z. B. Vance Papers, III.

⁴⁹ Vance to John H. Haughton, August 17, 1863. Z. B. Vance Papers, III. See also a revision of the letter filed under the date of August 21, 1863.

as he later recalled, thought it "very extreme and violent," an "ultra war letter . . . calculated to dim the prospects of peace between the two sections," and advised against its publication.⁵⁰ The governor then sent the letter to William A. Graham for his advice as to whether it should be published. Graham replied that he saw no necessity for any public declaration on Vance's part, as the governor's position was well known and as he enjoyed the confidence of both the political parties in the State.⁵¹

While the governor was completing the Haughton letter, with the apparent intention of publishing it, a variety of influences were brought to bear upon him. The *Raleigh Register*, quoting from the *Richmond Dispatch*, declared that, although the governor had derived considerable political support from the ranks of the peace advocates, "Vance has proved to be one of the most true and firm of leading Southern men."⁵² On the same day Holden charged that the authorities at Richmond were attempting to effect a breach between Vance and "the great body of his friends" in North Carolina. Holden professed to believe that the governor would stand by his friends and would maintain his record "against all the selfish and seductive influences which may be brought to bear upon him."⁵³ From his brother, General R. B. Vance, the governor received the advice to kill Holden's power by letting him alone;⁵⁴ and from C. H. Wiley, superintendent of the state public school system, came the opinion that "the vast majority of these peace men are loyal—they only need better knowledge, & assurance of a free government to fight for."⁵⁵

Puzzled by the conflicting advice he received and enmeshed in a political situation which would have taxed the resources of a more mature man, the young governor was on the verge of despair. He decided, however, to continue his Fabian policy of letting the next day take care of itself, and accordingly he suspended the publication of the Haughton letter—a public announcement which would have clearly informed the State that

⁵⁰ Boyd, W. K. (editor), *Memoirs of W. W. Holden* (Durham, N. C., 1911), pp. 23, 24.

⁵¹ Graham to Vance, August 21, 1863. Z. B. Vance Papers, III.

⁵² *The Weekly Raleigh Register*, August 19, 1863.

⁵³ *Weekly Standard*, August 19, 1863.

⁵⁴ R. B. Vance to Z. B. Vance, August 24, 1863. Z. B. Vance Papers, III.

⁵⁵ C. H. Wiley to Vance, August 22, 1863. *Ibid.*, III.

he opposed the peace movement. Still his difficulties increased, for the decision to keep the Haughton letter a secret was little more than a refusal "to take up arms against a sea of troubles, and by opposing end them." With great anxiety, he again appealed to William A. Graham. "But Sir," he wrote, "I am really much distressed and harrassed [*sic*]. The crisis is fast approaching and hardly any two friends agree in their advice. . . . If you can come I would be glad to appoint the day most convenient for you, and write Mr. Hale, Mr. Reade,⁵⁶ Mr. Gilmer,⁵⁷ or any others to meet you here. God knows I desire to do my duty and for the best, but this matter is one of great delicacy and a mistake might be fatal."⁵⁸

After all the conferences and correspondence with his friends and advisers, Vance was exactly where he had started two months before. He had made no move to arrest the peace movement, which he knew was fraught with great danger, and apparently he could think of no way in which the influence of Holden could be curbed. For fear of making a mistake he did nothing but issue a call for another conference, which was held in the governor's home on September 2. Because of previous engagements neither Reade, Gilmer, nor Hale could attend, but they all sent Vance some more advice. "If anything can be done to quiet the public mind, it ought to be done early," cautiously observed Gilmer.⁵⁹ Hale urged Vance "to appeal to the people & if possible arrest the dreadful tendency of things. Cut loose from Holden. He is trading on your capital, & every day strengthening himself by the idea that you & he agree except upon a point of minor importance."⁶⁰ Disagreeing with Hale, Reade urged the governor to maintain his political relations with Holden. "He's right," Vance commented, "but scary."⁶¹

This conference, like those which preceded it, was very meager in its results. Holden was invited to attend, and for three hours Graham talked earnestly with him. Like a revivalist wrestling with an unbeliever, he urged Holden to with-

⁵⁶ A Conservative party leader whom Vance, in January, 1864, appointed to the Confederate Senate.

⁵⁷ A Conservative leader and member of the Confederate House of Representatives.

⁵⁸ Vance to Graham, August 24, 1863. William A. Graham Papers, 1860-1864.

⁵⁹ J. A. Gilmer to Graham, August 29, 1863. *Ibid.*

⁶⁰ Hale to Vance, September 2, 1863. Z. B. Vance Papers, III.

⁶¹ Vance to Hale, September 7, 1863. E. J. Hale Papers, III.

draw his support from the peace movement, but the effort was all in vain. "It would do no good," Vance wrote Hale. "He would agree to nothing & insisted that the meetings should go on and I nor no one else must say a word! Modest proposition truly. I offered to keep silent if he would discourage the meetings—would not agree to it."⁶² At length it was agreed that Vance should issue a proclamation which would condemn defiance of the conscription and tithing laws and would discourage the peace meetings. "Gov. Graham was clear that I should issue a proclamation," Vance informed Hale, "but insisted it should be very mild and cautious." The governor followed Graham's advice, but he confessed he did not produce the document which his own judgment would have dictated. Even under these conditions, however, he thought the influence of Holden and his followers could be fought successfully. "From my letters, and my own knowledge of the men holding these meetings, the *metal* is very small—I expect the peace men really have a majority to start with, but the *brains* are largely with us. . . . I am very hopeful of the contest."⁶³

On September 8 Vance published his proclamation against those who advised resistance to the laws and urged separate negotiations for peace. In stern language he reminded the people of North Carolina that the laws would be enforced. "Surely, my countrymen," he pleaded, "you would not seek to cure the evils of one revolution by plunging the country into another." But when Vance attempted to warn the organizers of the peace meetings, his words lacked sternness and decision, and one sees how fully the cautious advice of Graham was accepted. All he did in this respect was to urge the people "to abstain from assembling together for the purpose of denouncing each other, whether at home or in the Army, and to avoid seeking any remedy for the Evils of the times, by other than legal means & through the properly constituted authorities."⁶⁴

Little wonder is it that Vance confessed to Hale his dissatisfaction with the proclamation. Issued partly for the purpose of discouraging the peace movement and warning the people to

⁶² Vance to Hale, September 2, 1863. E. J. Hale Papers, III.

⁶³ Vance to Hale, September 7, 1863. *Ibid.*

⁶⁴ Zebulon B. Vance Letter Book, 1862-1863, pp. 356-358.

abstain from their attempts to call a convention for the separate negotiation of peace, the proclamation seems scarcely to mention these objects. Nor did it "draw a clear line" between Vance and Holden in accordance with the advice of so many of the governor's friends. Instead it gave no intimation that the erstwhile political allies had gone their separate ways, and avoided an excellent opportunity of publicly opposing the policy of Holden. More than three months had elapsed since the peace movement began, but Vance had done virtually nothing except to bewilder and confuse himself with conflicting advice.

It was at this point that the peace movement in North Carolina was attacked from another angle and by an act of violence which was widely denounced—the irresponsible intervention of Confederate arms.

For months the Confederate government had received letters from military officers in North Carolina, informing it of the widespread peace movement and advising the immediate arrest of Holden and other leaders. Both General D. H. Hill and Colonel Peter Mallett, the enrolling officer for the State, informed Secretary Seddon that affairs in North Carolina were fast approaching a crisis.⁶⁵ "Four patriotic young ladies" from the western part of the State advised even sterner measures; they petitioned the President to hang Holden "as a just punishment for the circulation of false and disloyal sentiments."⁶⁶ Their hopes were destined to be blighted, but the Confederate government was sufficiently alarmed over the situation to send a special investigator to North Carolina. Although the investigator, Lieutenant-Colonel George W. Lay, reported that "military repression" was urgently needed,⁶⁷ the civil government of the Confederacy refused to adopt such a dangerous expedient.⁶⁸

Some officers and men of the Confederate army, however, did not draw such fine lines between the province of military force and that of the civil government. On the evening of September 9, 1863, a mob of soldiers from Benning's Georgia brigade

⁶⁵ *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, Series I, XVIII, 1052, 1053, 1092; XXIX, Pt. II, p. 660.

⁶⁶ *The Weekly State Journal*, September 1, 1863.

⁶⁷ *Official Records*, Series IV, Vol. II, pp. 783-785.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, Series IV, Vol. II, p. 786; see also Swiggett, Howard (editor), *A Rebel War Clerk's Diary at the Confederate States Capital* by J. B. Jones (New York, 1935), II, 44.

broke into the *Standard* office, scattered Holden's papers, wrecked everything in the office but the press, and dumped the type into the street. Governor Vance, having been informed that a mob was hunting for Holden's office, raced to the scene on his horse, but he arrived too late to do anything but lecture the soldiers on the liberty of the press. They listened respectfully, gave three lusty cheers when he had finished, and then marched off to their quarters near the railroad depot.⁶⁹ When Vance returned to his home, he found the frightened editor of the *Standard*, who had sought protection from a possible attack on his person. Holden praised the governor's bravery in dealing with the troops and quieted his own nerves with some brandy which Vance provided.⁷⁰

Early the following morning the quiet little city was again subjected to a mob. The town bell was rung, and over a hundred of Holden's friends collected at the market place and advanced on the offices of the *State Journal*, whose editor had called for Holden's suppression. Within fifteen minutes the type was scattered in the streets, the furniture was broken, the papers were disarranged, and the press was smashed by blows of heavy sledge hammers.⁷¹ Once more the governor mounted his horse and hastened to the scene of a riot. With great difficulty he persuaded the mob to disperse and not to carry out the threats which it had made against the *Register*, another newspaper opposed to Holden.⁷²

After dispersing this mob, Vance telegraphed Davis and asked him to "order immediately that troops passing through here shall not enter the city." Davis promptly complied,⁷³ but later in the day Vance again telegraphed the President and informed him that "soldiers now on the road from Weldon have indulged in threats of further violence when they reach here. For God's sake save us from this state of things by sending immediate orders to the officers to my care at this place and at Weldon. If you wish to save North Carolina to the Confederacy, be quick."⁷⁴

⁶⁹ Vance Letter Book, II, 7-9; George Little to E. J. Hale, September 21, 1863. E. J. Hale Papers, III; *The Daily Progress*, September 11, 18, 1863.

⁷⁰ *Weekly Standard*, May 18, June 29, 1864.

⁷¹ *Wilmington Journal*, September 17, 1863.

⁷² *The Daily Progress*, September 11, 1863.

⁷³ *Official Records*, Series I, Vol. XXIX, Pt. II, p. 710.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, Series I, Vol. LI, Pt. II, pp. 763, 764.

On the afternoon of September 11, Raleigh was visited by a large number of "infuriated soldiers from an Alabama brigade," who spread terror in their path by threatening murder and conflagration, and even indicated an intention of assaulting the governor if he interfered with them. Once more the weary governor mounted his horse and "rode with all speed" to the depot, where he prevailed upon an officer to march a detachment of calmer men into town to restrain their comrades before they had done any damage. He then turned upon President Davis. "This thing is becoming intolerable," he declared. "For sixty hours I have traveled up and down making speeches alternately to citizens and soldiers, without rest or sleep almost, engaged in the humiliating task of trying to defend the laws and peace of the State against our own bayonets. Sir, the means of stopping these outrages I leave to you. If not done, I shall feel it a duty which I owe to the dignity and self-respect of the first State in the Confederacy in point of the numbers and good conduct of her soldiers and all the natural resources of war to issue my proclamation recalling her troops from the field to the defense of their own homes."⁷⁵

The central government issued strict orders to troops passing through Raleigh, and on September 15 Vance was able to wire the President: "The troops are now passing quietly, and no further disturbance apprehended. Quiet is restored."⁷⁶

As for the effect of this mob violence upon the peace movement, Vance feared at first that it might begin disturbances in other parts of the State, but he consoled himself with the hope that the destruction of the *Standard* and the *State Journal* offices might counteract each other.⁷⁷ Fortunately for the peace of the State, Vance's earlier fears were not realized. Later in September he made a trip to the mountains and found "to my great gratification," he wrote Hale, "that the excitement about the stopping of Holden's paper is very small indeed. I met with hardly a man but was willing it should stay down if the

⁷⁵ *Official Records*, Series I, Vol. LI, Pt. II, pp. 764, 765. While this demonstration was occurring Holden was hiding in the country, safe from the soldier mobs. *The Daily Progress*, September 11, 1863.

⁷⁶ *Official Records*, Series I, Vol. LI, Pt. II, p. 768.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, Series I, Vol. LI, Pt. II, p. 765.

Journal was down with it. *Holden has been weakened by the blow, or I am vastly mistaken.*"⁷⁸

The resourceful editor of the *Raleigh Standard*, however, was not willing for his newspaper to "stay down," and early in October he resumed publication. Continuing to criticize the Confederate government and as insistent as ever in his demands for peace, this time he had an immediate object in view, for the Congressional elections would be held in November and would provide the first test of strength for the peace wing of the Conservative party. The Congressional candidates who represented this wing of the dominant party all opposed the "abuses" of the Confederate government and demanded an "honorable peace," but they would neither define that peace nor explain how it should be obtained. J. T. Leach, of Johnston County, in a letter addressed to the voters of the third district, promised to shape his course "in reference to the most successful and satisfactory mode of securing an honorable and speedy peace," and suggested that this could best be accomplished by offering the "'olive branch' to our enemies," and thus attempting "to secure an honorable termination to this fearful struggle."⁷⁹

Holden, when he resumed publication of the *Standard*, gave his support to the peace candidates by criticizing the Confederate government and by demanding peace negotiations.⁸⁰ The *Progress* also was prompt in lending its aid by denouncing unpopular acts of the central government and by its oft-repeated assertion that the State was treated unfairly.⁸¹ On November 4 the election was held, and it was soon apparent that the peace movement had sent some Representatives to Congress. The *Register* observed that out of the ten North Carolina districts "we have five true men,"⁸² but the *Standard* claimed that seven of the Representatives were peace men.⁸³ "What an unaccountable people!" the Richmond *Enquirer* exclaimed, when it heard that North Carolina had elected several peace candidates. "They fight to defend their homes, and they send a man

⁷⁸ Vance to Hale, September 20, 1863. E. J. Hale Papers, III.

⁷⁹ *Weekly Standard*, September 9, 1863.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, October 4, 1863.

⁸¹ *The Daily Progress*, September 23, 1863.

⁸² *The Weekly Register*, November 27, 1863.

⁸³ *Weekly Standard*, February 3, 1864.

to Congress because he says they have defended them 'long enough.' "84 •

Shortly after the Congressional elections, the state legislature met in extra session, and the peace men were thus given another opportunity to test their strength. Although Vance had not yet decided to make an open break with Holden and other supporters of the peace movement, he sought to decrease their strength by advising the legislature that negotiations with the North would be futile and dangerous and that an honorable peace could be obtained only on the battlefield.⁸⁵ Three days after this message was delivered, however, legislative leaders of the peace movement introduced resolutions in the house of commons urging President Davis to open peace negotiations with the North.⁸⁶ But after listening to a long speech by William A. Graham, members of the house voted to lay the resolutions on the table, where they quietly expired.⁸⁷ Despite this defeat of the peace men, Vance was worried about Holden's influence with the legislature. "Things are gloomy here in the extreme," he wrote Hale. "The Legislature will adjourn on Monday without any further demonstration from the peace men I think & thanks to the influence of Mr. Graham. But the Holdenites are making every effort to raise a row again. God help us. I fear we are on the eve of another revolution & civil war in the State."⁸⁸

In the meantime the *Standard* and the *Progress* grew bolder. "The only power that can close the war," declared Holden, "is the power that made it, that of the sovereign States; and the States can speak authoritatively only in Convention."⁸⁹ The editor of the *Progress*, though denying that he wanted North Carolina to desert her confederates, advised that the authority to negotiate peace be taken out of the hands of the general government and confided to the separate states. "If Davis and Lincoln, . . . cannot stop the inhuman butchery," Editor Pennington wrote, "let the sovereign States, that existed before

⁸⁴ Quoted by *ibid.*, November 18, 1863.

⁸⁵ *Executive and Legislative Documents*, Sess. of 1863-1864, Doc. No. 1, pp. 7-9.

⁸⁶ *N. C. House Journal*, Adjourned Sess., 1863, pp. 17-19.

⁸⁷ W. A. Huske to E. J. Hale, December 1, 1863. E. J. Hale Papers, III.

⁸⁸ Vance to Hale, December 10, 1863. E. J. Hale Papers, III.

⁸⁹ *Weekly Standard*, December 30, 1863.

Confederacies or Confederations were, try their hands. Why endure a perpetual hell when in our power to avoid it?"⁹⁰

The demands for a state convention, together with the sullen undercurrent in the state legislature, at length convinced Vance that the Confederate government should show the people of the State that it was trying to obtain peace by negotiations with the enemy. On December 30 he wrote Davis a short letter and informed him that "after a careful consideration of all the sources of discontent in North Carolina, I have concluded that it will be perhaps impossible to remove it except by making some efforts at negotiation with the enemy." He believed that if the United States rejected "fair terms," it would tend "greatly to strengthen and intensify the war feeling and will rally all classes to a more cordial support of the Government." If negotiations were begun, moreover, "we would keep conspicuously before the world a declaimer [*sic*] of our responsibility for the great slaughter of our race and convince the humblest of our citizens, who sometimes forget the actual situation, that the Government is tender of their lives and happiness and would not prolong their sufferings unnecessarily one moment."⁹¹

President Davis promptly replied that negotiations with the enemy were impossible, for Lincoln, only a few months before, had refused a conference with Confederate commissioners. Even if it were practicable to obtain a conference with the northern President, "that despot" would listen to no terms except abject surrender and the emancipation of the slaves. Davis was certain, therefore, that attempts to negotiate with the enemy would not allay the discontent to which Vance alluded; but he did know a way of defeating the objects of the disaffected, and that was by firm, vigorous action on the governor's part. "With your influence and position," Davis declared, "the promoters of the unfounded discontent in your State would be put down without the use of physical force, if you would abandon a policy of conciliation and set them at defiance. In this course, frankly and firmly pursued, you would rally around you all that

⁹⁰ *The Daily Progress*, November 17, 1863.

⁹¹ *Official Records*, Series I, Vol. LI, Pt. II, p. 807.

is best and noblest in your State, and your triumph would be bloodless."⁹²

President Davis was giving Vance exactly the same advice which E. J. Hale had been rendering for months, and which the *State Journal*, *Raleigh Register*, *Charlotte Bulletin*, and other newspapers had been attempting vainly to press upon the governor's attention. Vance hesitated, however, to separate himself from so powerful a politician and one who had such an uncanny ability to interpret and lead public sentiment. So great was the governor's reluctance to make an open break with the editor of the *Standard* and so obvious was his indecision, that the *Register* believed Vance was "in Holden's toils, and no matter how anxious to escape from them, has not the backbone to make the effort. Gov. Vance is a *politician* literally, and metaphorically in the 'Buncombe' sense, and there is no use in disguising the fact, . . ."⁹³

During the closing days of December, however, Vance received information which stiffened his "backbone" and hastened him to the conclusion that a political rupture with Holden should be effected immediately. The editor of the *Standard* and his associates, Vance learned, had decided that his reelection in 1864 would be opposed if he refused to support the calling of a convention. "The convention question is to be my test," the governor wrote Hale, "and I am to be beaten if I oppose it."⁹⁴ A few days later Vance received more information about Holden's plans, and he promptly communicated it to William A. Graham. He learned that Holden had prepared, and had sent to Johnston County for passage at a public meeting, a set of resolutions calling for the election of a convention; and, moreover, that a peace candidate would oppose him unless he agreed to the plan. "I can not of course favor such a thing for any existing cause," he wrote Graham. "I will see the Conservative party blown into a thousand atoms and Holden and his understrappers in hell (if you will pardon the violence of the ex-

⁹² *Official Records*, Series I, Vol. LI, Pt. II, pp. 808-810.

⁹³ *The Weekly Register*, November 20, 1863.

⁹⁴ Vance to Hale, December 30, 1863, E. J. Hale Papers, III. The leaders of the peace movement never stated clearly what they expected the proposed convention to accomplish, but Vance had reasons to believe that the secession of North Carolina from the Confederacy and a separate peace with the North was in view. See John A. Gilmer to Vance, January 5, 1864. Z. B. Vance Papers, III.

pression) before I will consent to a course which I think would bring dishonor and ruin upon both state & Confederacy!"⁹⁵

This letter to Graham gives some intimation of the course Vance intended to pursue, but he reserved for President D. L. Swain, of the University of North Carolina, a full statement of his plans. As a youth at the University, Vance had had close relations with the president, and he had never forgotten Swain's kind and fatherly attention. To him, therefore, he wrote a long and intimate letter, which is perhaps one of the most revealing documents Vance ever composed.

The final plunge, which I have been dreading and avoiding, that is to separate me from a large number of my political friends, is about to be made. It is now a fixed policy of Mr. Holden and others to call a convention in May to take N. C. back to the United States, and the agitation has already begun. Resolutions, advocating this course, were prepared a few days ago in the Standard office and sent to Johnson [*sic*] County to be passed at a public meeting next week: and a series of meetings are to be held all over the State.

For any cause now existing or likely to exist, I can never consent to this course. Never. But should it be inevitable and I be unable to prevent it—as I have no right to suppose I could—believing that it would be ruin alike to State and Confederacy, producing war and devastation at home, and that it would steep the name of North Carolina in infamy and make her memory a reproach among the nations, it is my determination to quietly retire to the army and find a death which will enable my children to say that their father was not consenting to their degradation. This sounds no doubt, a little wild and bombastic, not to say foolish, but it is for your eye only. I feel sir in many respects as a son towards you, and when the many acts of kindness I received at your hands is [*sic*] remembered, and the parental interest you have always manifested for my welfare, the feeling is not unnatural. I therefore approach you frankly in this matter.

I will not present the argument, against the proposed proceeding. There is something to be said on both sides. We are sadly pushed to the wall by the enemy on every side it is true. That can be answered by military men and a reference to history; many people have been worse off, infinitely, and yet triumphed. Our finances and other material resources are not worse off than were those of our fathers in 1780-81, though repudiation is inevitable. Almost every argument can be answered, against the chances of our success, but one. That is, the cries of women and little children for bread! Of all things, that is hardest for a man of human sentiments to meet, especially

⁹⁵ Vance to Graham, January 1, 1864. William A. Graham Papers, 1860-1864.

when the sufferers rejoin to your appeals to their patriotism, 'You Governor have plenty; your children have never felt want.' Still, no great political or moral blessing ever has been or can be attained without suffering. Such is our moral constitution, that liberty and independence can only be gathered of blood and misery [,] sustained and fostered by devoted patriotism and heroic manhood. This requires a deep hold on the popular heart, *and our people will not pay this price* I am satisfied for their national independence. I am convinced of it. But Sir, in tracing the sad story of the backing down, the self imposed degradation of a great people, the historian shall not say it was due to the weakness of their Governor and that Saul was consenting unto their death. Neither do I desire for the sake of a sentiment, to involve others in a ruin which they might avoid by following more ignoble councils. As God liveth, there is nothing I would not do or dare, for the people who, so far beyond my merits, have honored me. But in resisting this attempt to lead them back, humbled and degraded, to the army of their enemies who have slaughtered their sons, outraged their daughters, and wasted their fields with fire; and lay them bound at the feet of a master who promises them *only life*, provided they will swear to justify and uphold his own perjury and surrender to the hangman those whom they themselves placed in the position which constitutes their crime, in resisting this I say, I feel that I am serving them truly, worthily.

In approaching this, the crisis of North Carolina's fate—certainly of my own career—I could think of no one to whom I could more appropriately go for advice than yourself, for the reasons before stated. If you can say anything to throw light on my path, or enable me to avoid the rocks before me I shall be thankful. My great anxiety now, as I can scarcely hope to avoid the contemplated action of the state [secession from the Confederacy], is to avoid civil war and to preserve life and property as far as may be possible. With due consideration on the part of public men, which I fear is not to be looked for, this might be avoided. It shall be my aim under God, at all events.

All the circumstances considered, do you think I ought again to be a candidate? It is a long time until the election it is true, but the issue will be upon the country by Spring. My inclination is, to take the stump early and to spend all my time and strength in trying to warn and harmonize the people. If I go down before the current I shall

"—Perish if it must be so,
At bay, destroying many a foe."⁹⁶

⁹⁶ Vance to D. L. Swain, January 2, 1864. Z. B. Vance Papers, III.

The decision, which this letter foreshadowed, was quickly made. The peace movement, ominously threatening North Carolina's secession from the Confederacy, was to be opposed with all Vance's power. William W. Holden was to be thrust from party councils and condemned as an instigator of civil war. And Vance's campaign for réélection in 1864 was to be fought on the issue of continuing the war until Southern independence had been achieved.

[*To be concluded*]

CONTEMPORARY OPINION OF HUGH WILLIAMSON

By DELBERT HAROLD GILPATRICK

It is not often that Congressional biography is punctuated with marks of extensive academic training, with signs of remarkable literary and scientific productivity, or with evidences of varied professional vocations. This, however, is the case with Doctor Hugh Williamson, the first North Carolina representative to take his seat in Congress after the State's somewhat belated ratification of the Constitution.¹ Membership in a legislative or deliberative body was no novelty to this versatile doctor. Before he entered Congress on March 19, 1790, he had already served two years in the North Carolina legislature and also had been four times elected to the old Congress under the Confederation.² He had been North Carolina's sole delegate to the Annapolis convention of 1786 albeit he did not arrive before its adjournment.³ At the Federal Convention in Philadelphia in 1787 he had been North Carolina's outstanding representative and in 1789 he had been a member of the Fayetteville convention at which North Carolina finally ratified the Constitution. He was to serve two terms in the new Congress under the Constitution, retiring from political life in 1793.

These eleven years of political service account for only a small part of Williamson's long life (1735-1819). For only about one-fifth of his life was he identified with North Carolina.⁴ Before he settled in Edenton during the early part of the Revolution he had lived at Philadelphia. After he left North Carolina he resided in New York until his death in 1819. Some years he had spent in study and travel in Europe and he also had made a trip to the West Indies.

In the matter of education, as well as in literary output and in membership in learned societies, the record of Williamson was impressive. He was a member of the first class of the newly

¹ *Annals of Congress*, 1 Congress, p. 1464; *State Gazette of North Carolina* (Edenton), April 10, 1790.

² Burnett, Edmund C., *Letters of the Members of the Continental Congress*, VI, xlix; VII, lxxiii; VIII, xciv.

³ *State Records of North Carolina*, XVIII, 655, 772-773.

⁴ He seems to have taken up his residence in Edenton in 1777. He left North Carolina not long after his retirement from Congress in 1793.

established Academy and Charitable School in Philadelphia, the "favourite child" of Benjamin Franklin's youth, and afterwards part of the University of Pennsylvania. From this institution he graduated in 1757.⁵ He pursued medical studies in Edinburgh, in London, and finally at the University of Utrecht, from which he received his M.D. degree. A work of his, published in 1811, entitled "Observations on the Climate in Different Parts of America," won for him an honorary degree from the historic University of Leyden.⁶ His writings cover a bewilderingly broad field. In the field of science they cover such varied subjects as climate, comets, serpents, lightning rods, pestilential fevers, malignant pleurisy, and electric eels.⁷ In the political field they include "The Plea of the Colonies" addressed to Lord Mansfield in 1775, essays on the evils of paper money, and many articles in favor of the Federal Constitution. Being "among the first of our citizens who entertained correct views on the practicability of the union of the waters of the Hudson and Lake Erie,"⁸ he wrote on navigation. In 1789, while he was busily writing in defense of the Constitution, he found time also to pen an article "On the Study of Dead Languages."⁹

His membership in learned societies included the famous American Philosophical Society, which he joined on January 19, 1768. In the next year he was chosen on the society's committee to observe the transit of Venus. On this committee he was in distinguished company, for the other members were David Rittenhouse, the famous scientist; William Smith, provost of the Philadelphia Academy; John Ewing, later provost of the University of Pennsylvania, and Charles Thompson, later secretary of the Continental Congress.¹⁰ As one of the founders he "penned the first summons for the formation of the Literary and Philosophical Society of New York."¹¹ He received as recognition for his study on climate membership in the Holland Society of Science as well as in the Society of Arts and Sciences of Utrecht.¹² He was also a member of the New York Histori-

⁵ Hosack, David, *Biographical Memoirs of Hugh Williamson*; Van Doren, Carl, *Benjamin Franklin*, pp. 189-194, 731.

⁶ *Dictionary of American Biography*, XX, 300, article by J. G. de R. Hamilton.

⁷ Francis, John W., *Old New York or Reminiscences of the Past Sixty Years*, pp. 97-98.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 98.

⁹ *Massachusetts Magazine*, Dec. 1789. Listed in Richardson, Lyon N., *A History of American Magazines, 1741-1789*, p. 360, note.

¹⁰ Francis, *Old New York*, p. 97.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 98.

¹² *Dictionary of American Biography*, XX, 300.

cal Society¹³ and his discourse before that body in 1810 is printed in its "Collections."¹⁴ An admirer of Williamson in his later years has recorded that some of the most gratifying hours of his youth "were passed with this venerable man; it was instructive to enjoy the conversation of one who had enriched the pages of the Royal Society; who had experimented with John Hunter, and Franklin, and Inghenhouze in London, and had enjoyed the soirées of Sir John Pringle."¹⁵

Few men in their lifetime have had as many different occupations as Williamson. He appears in the rôles of Presbyterian minister, professor of mathematics, physician, writer on scientific, literary, and historical subjects, legislator and constitution-maker, merchant, active patron of education, and advocate of internal improvements. About him in almost all of these capacities there are to be found comments, friendly or unfriendly, by contemporaries.

Originally intended for the church, he was licensed to preach by the presbytery of Philadelphia, but he never had charge of a congregation, as his health was delicate and "he had not the strength for the duties of the pulpit."¹⁶ Doctor James Thacher, physician and historian of Massachusetts, once heard him preach a sermon at Plymouth and stated that "his oratory was grotesque." Rufus King said later that Williamson's "elocution provoked laughter in Congress."¹⁷

After returning from abroad in the 1760's he began to practice medicine in Philadelphia, but delicate health forced him to abandon it and he then devoted himself to scientific studies and writing. It is noteworthy that our chief biographical knowledge of Williamson comes from two fellow physicians some years his junior. These were David Hosack (1769-1835) and John Wakefield Francis (1789-1861). The year 1789, when Williamson was bestirring himself to secure North Carolina's ratification of the Constitution, was the year in which Hosack graduated

¹³ *Star* (Raleigh), Mar. 16, 1809; Francis, *Old New York*, p. 102.

¹⁴ *New York Historical Society Collections*, 1814, II, 23-36, "A Discourse on the Benefits of Civil History."

¹⁵ Francis, *Old New York*, p. 101. Hunter was a famous English anatomist and surgeon. Inghenhouze was a noted English physician and physicist. Sir John Pringle, physician and writer, was noted for his reforms in military medicine.

¹⁶ Griswold, R. W., *The Republican Court*, p. 71. It has been hinted that Williamson abandoned the ministry because of disgust with theological controversies.

¹⁷ Francis, *Old New York*, p. 102.

from Princeton and the year in which Francis was born. These two eminent medical authorities accord to Williamson the highest praise as physician, scientist, and writer.¹⁸ As a military surgeon in North Carolina he is commended for his use of inoculation and for his improvements in camp sanitation.¹⁹

In his early days at Edenton he combined the medical profession with "mercantile interests," for he and a younger brother carried on an extensive trade with the West Indies. Throughout his political career he was always the spokesman for commercial interests. He was first elected to Congress on May 13, 1782, and took his seat on July 19, 1782.²⁰ Williamson at least attained one distinction in this body, that of regular attendance,²¹ and that at a time when members were so casual in their attendance that often at crucial periods not a quorum of states was represented. His conscientious performance of duty is all the more remarkable in view of North Carolina's dilatoriness in paying her delegates.²²

When Williamson had been in Congress little more than a month he made a speech relative to the proper method of receiving a foreign minister. This was termed a "florid harangue."²³ Jefferson, while inclined to be impatient with him on their differences regarding the methods of ratifying the Treaty of Paris, 1783,²⁴ nevertheless considered him "a very useful member, of an acute mind, attending to business, and a high degree of erudition."²⁵ In view of subsequent political cleavages it is interesting to note that Williamson wrote to Jefferson on December 11, 1784, and expressed a hope that Jefferson might be sent as minister to France but stating at the same time that John Adams had "Prejudices too strong" to qualify as minister to England.²⁶ Some years later Jefferson was to praise Williamson's work on climate as "an ingenious,

¹⁸ Hosack's work is the frequently cited *Biographical Memoirs of Hugh Williamson* (New York, 1821) and Francis's sketch appears in *Old New York or Reminiscences of the Past Sixty Years, Being an Enlarged and Revised Edition of the Anniversary Discourse Delivered before the New York Historical Society, Nov. 17, 1857* (New York, 1858), pp. 97-102.

¹⁹ Francis, *Old New York*, p. 98; Hosack, *Biographical Memoirs*, *passim*.

²⁰ Burnett, *Letters*, VI, xlix.

²¹ *Ibid.*, VII, lxxiii.

²² *Ibid.*, VI, 343, Benjamin Hawkins and Williamson to Governor Alexander Martin, Oct. 19, 1783.

²³ *Ibid.*, VI, 461.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, VII, 447, Jefferson to Madison, Feb. 20, 1784.

²⁵ *Dictionary of American Biography*, XX, 299; Hosack, *op. cit.*

²⁶ Burnett, *Letters*, VII, 623-624.

sound, and satisfactory piece of philosophy.”²⁷ William Samuel Johnson, a Connecticut delegate, praised him for his “ability and assiduity . . . in the Conduct of public Business.”²⁸ A New York member, Samuel Alleyne Otis, was, however, less adulatory in his appraisal in 1788, for he stated “There is a Doctor Williamson arrived who seems to have got with him from North Carolina a quantum of self consequence” and he added that “our pompous brother Williamson” had no doubts but what North Carolina would speedily join the Federal Union under the Constitution.²⁹ In the same year the French *chargé d'affaires*, Otto, in describing the members (*Liste Des Membres et Officiers du Congrès, 1788*) for the French Foreign Minister, Count de Montmorin, gave this characterization:

Hugh Williamson, Médecin et ci-devant Professeur d'astronomie. Bizarre à l'excès, aimant à péroter, mais parlant avec spirit. Il est difficile de bien connoître son caractère; il est meme possible qu' il n'en ait pas; mais son activité lui a donné depuis quelque temps beaucoup d'influence au Congrès.³⁰

At the Philadelphia Convention of 1787 Williamson took the most active part of any of the North Carolina delegates.³¹ A Georgia delegate, William Pierce, described him as “a Gentleman of education and talents” and as a member who paid close attention to and took an active part in the proceedings. He confirmed the estimates of others that he was “no Orator” and that there was “a strong trait of the Gentleman” about him.³² A writer who later delighted in portraying the most distinguished men of this time described Williamson at Philadelphia as “a very worthy and excellent man, of much observation and extensive attainments, and an undoubted patriot.”³³ Williamson was not a member of the Hillsboro convention of 1788 but he was a member of the Fayetteville convention the next year. James Iredell expressed himself as much pleased that Williamson was chosen to this body and explained why it was better

²⁷ Allibone. S. A., *Dictionary of Authors*, III, 2753; Francis, *Old New York*, p. 98.

²⁸ Burnett, *Letters*, VIII, 567, Johnson to Williamson, Mar. 31, 1787.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 736, Otis to George Thacher, Mar. (May), 18, 1788.

³⁰ Farrand, Max, *The Records of the Federal Convention of 1787*, III, appendix. clix, 237-238.

³¹ Trenholme, Louise Irby, *Ratification of the Federal Constitution in North Carolina*, pp. 79-94.

³² Farrand, *Records*, III, 95. These sketches were first published in the *Savannah Georgian* in 1828.

³³ Griswold, *Republican Court*, p. 72.

for him to "stand" for Tyrrell County rather than for the borough of Edenton.³⁴

During the transition period before the setting up of the government under the Constitution, Williamson was constant in his attendance upon the old Congress, despite North Carolina's somewhat anomalous position. He was much worried at this time about his franking privileges.³⁵ About this time he was made the State's agent for settling North Carolina's claims with the Union.³⁶ While North Carolina was technically out of the Union, his duties were little short of ambassadorial. He exerted himself to postpone the "alien duty" on North Carolina shipping and for this drew praise from the Edenton newspaper which commended the efforts of "our worthy citizen, Hugh Williamson."³⁷

It was also during this period of transition that Williamson married Miss Maria Apthorp, daughter of a wealthy New York merchant.³⁸ This wedding was described as one of "a large number of weddings in the more fashionable circles" that added to the "gayeties of New York society" when "not less than a dozen members of Congress were . . . united to as many fascinating young women of the city."³⁹ A somewhat more realistic account of this union came from John Dawson, Virginia Congressman, who wrote: "Williamson from North Carolina was married a few days since to a Miss Aptho[r]p, a beautiful girl, about twenty-two. She appears much pleased with her bargain — may she never repent."⁴⁰ Repentance was hinted upon the score of the disparity of ages, for Williamson was then over fifty. A subsequent comment from William Maclay, Senator from Pennsylvania in the first Congress, is perhaps pertinent:

Having some leisure this morning [July 17, 1790], I called on Dr. Williamson. . . . He got into a long tale of his settling his children in Philadelphia and taking a more Northern position for his family than

³⁴ James Iredell to Williamson, Jan. 22, 1789, and an undated letter replying to Williamson's of Aug. 12, 1789, Johnson Papers, archives of the North Carolina Historical Commission, Raleigh.

³⁵ Burnett, *Letters*, VIII, 801, 824-26, 828, 831, Williamson to Iredell Sept. 22, 1788; to Samuel Johnston, March 2, 9, 23; April 27, 1789.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 816, Williamson to Johnston, Jan. 19, 1789.

³⁷ *State Gazette of North Carolina*, Oct. 1, 1789.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, Jan. 15, 1789.

³⁹ Griswold, *Republican Court*, p. 102.

⁴⁰ Burnett, *Letters*, VIII, 567, Dawson to Madison, Jan. [29?], 1789.

North Carolina, etc. By the way, I would only remark he has one child only born, but he has begotten another, as he says. But no gray-headed man ever was fuller of future arrangements for a numerous progeny.⁴¹

Mrs. Williamson's death before the end of 1790 made these "future arrangements" somewhat premature.⁴²

In the first Congress under the Constitution Williamson displayed the same diligence that he had shown in the old Congress. He worked hard to prevent the assumption of the state debts by the central government and failing in this he endeavored, in his dual capacity of state agent and Congressman, to drive a profitable bargain for North Carolina, an aim that fell far short of realization.⁴³ At first his efforts won him approbation in the State and Governor Alexander Martin wrote him that "Our Citizens appear much satisfied with the exertions you have made in the House of Representatives to negative the proposition of the assumption of the State Debts by Congress. . . . You have done justice to this State in the firm opposition you have made."⁴⁴ And a month later the governor was again reporting that "our citizens in General" were much pleased with his opposition to "so iniquitous" a measure.⁴⁵

The plaudits of the "citizens in General" did not long continue, for early in 1791 Williamson was complaining of base ingratitude toward him on the part of North Carolina.⁴⁶ The Assembly of 1790 had reached the climax in antifederalism and when Williamson appeared at some of its sessions in Fayetteville he was greeted as anything but a popular hero. An account of his reception is contained in a letter of the time, "The members of your House of Representatives were treated with the most mortifying marks of displeasure at our Assembly. . . . Doctor Williamson could not receive a whiff of incense for his excellent opposition to the funding law. they looked as angrily at him as if he had been its advocate."⁴⁷

⁴¹ *The Journal of William Maclay* (New York, 1927 ed.), p. 322.

⁴² *State Gazette of North Carolina*, Nov. 5, 1790.

⁴³ *Annals of Congress*, 1 Congress, pp. 1479-80, 1487, 1488-89, 1490-93; *State Gazette of North Carolina*, April 24, May 1, 15, 1790; Governor's Letter Book, X, 26-32, 53-56, 91-97, 127-129, 171-172, Williamson to Martin, Mar. 6, 20, April 24, May 13, June 12, Aug. 9, 12, Dec. 24, 1790. Archives of the North Carolina Historical Commission, Raleigh.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, Martin to Williamson, May 25, 1790.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, Martin to Williamson, June 12, 1790.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 174-175, 182-185, 198-199, Williamson to Martin, Jan. 16, 29, Feb. 7, Mar. 4, 1791.

⁴⁷ Alfred Moore to Samuel Johnston, Feb. 23, 1791, Hayes Collection, archives of the North Carolina Historical Commission, Raleigh.

The Assembly of 1790 had devoted much of its time to a vain attempt to voice official condemnation of the assumption law⁴⁸ and Archibald Maclaine, constant and caustic critic of contemporary North Carolina politics, had a suspicion that Williamson was conniving to bring this about and he asked why the "all-knowing Doctor Williamson" was not on his way to attend Congress, of which he had "the undeserved honor to be a member," rather than "torturing his ingenuity how to evade the laws of that body." Maclaine was of the opinion that the suspected doctor "would have made a good pettyfogging attorney" but he was equally positive that "nature never intended him to be a legislator."⁴⁹ Williamson, in turn, felt that the Assembly of 1790 manifested its ingratitude to him by passing a law which made it impossible for him to serve as the State's representative in financial matters and Congressman at the same time. Furthermore, this Assembly had changed the boundaries of his election district in a manner not pleasing to him.⁵⁰ He was reelected to Congress in 1791,⁵¹ however, and served out his second term. In 1793 he was not a candidate for reelection and he now returned to scholarly pursuits.

Two references to Williamson in the proceedings of the North Carolina legislature give evidence of his new preoccupations. The State at that time was manifesting a good deal of interest in the improvement of internal navigation. A committee appointed for that purpose in making its report expressed its indebtedness to "the Honorable Hugh Williamson" for information about similar improvements in Pennsylvania and other Northern states.⁵² In New York he was later the author of several papers "on the canal policy of the State" and it was even asserted that his "material interests, especially in the advocacy of the canal policy," helped to gain for him an exalted social position with the Clintons and others.⁵³ The assembly of 1793 also gave him free access to the papers in the office of the Secretary of State,⁵⁴ to be used in preparation for his proposed

⁴⁸ *State Records of North Carolina*, XXI, 867, 1055-1058.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 574-575; McRee, Griffith J., *Life and Correspondence of James Iredell*, II, 301-302, Maclaine to Iredell, Nov. 18, 1790.

⁵⁰ Governor's Letter Book, X, 174-175, Williamson to Martin, Jan. 16, 1791, archives of the North Carolina Historical Commission, Raleigh.

⁵¹ *State Gazette of North Carolina*, Feb. 4, 1791.

⁵² *House of Commons Journal*, 1793, p. 49.

⁵³ Francis, *Old New York*, p. 98; Duyckinck, A. E. and G. L., *Cyclopedia of American Literature*, I, 190.

⁵⁴ *House of Commons Journal*, 1793, p. 38.

History of North Carolina. William Barry Grove, Federalist Congressman from the Fayetteville District, in 1795 subscribed for three copies of the projected work but he was not very sanguine as to its objectivity because he feared lest the author's prejudices regarding that period of the State's history in which he "had acted so conspicuous a part" would be so great that the book would "not be much prized," although the first part might be correct owing to the writer's "great industry in procuring materials." Grove also noted that some people believed that Williamson had supplied Jedidiah Morse with the "most objectionable parts of his acct." of North Carolina in that gentleman's *American Universal Geography*. Grove added "if I thought so I would despise him."⁵⁵ Williamson's history appeared in two volumes in 1812 and the selling price was seven dollars.⁵⁶ As a historian Williamson did not evoke that praise that marked his efforts along other lines. Even the admiring Doctor Francis admitted that the work "had encountered the disapprobation of many" and that it was "deemed defective and erroneous."⁵⁷ Twelve years after its appearance Jared Sparks reviewed it in this manner, "We have seldom attempted to read, in the shape of history, so meagre and so unsatisfactory a performance. It contains but few facts, and these, one would suppose, the author took pains to select from the most unimportant of such as had fallen in his way."⁵⁸ A professor of the University of North Carolina reported in 1860 that it had never been found "satisfactory to the historical student, nor adequate to the wants of the people of the State."⁵⁹

As a patron of education Williamson also deserves recognition. His preliminary training had been received at an academy conducted by one of those numerous erudite Presbyterian clergymen who did so much for education at this period. This was the Reverend Francis Alison who founded an academy at Philadelphia in 1743. This academy was subsequently moved to New-

⁵⁵ Wagstaff, H. M., editor, "Letters of William Barry Grove," *James Sprunt Historical Publications*, IX, No. 2, 58-59.

⁵⁶ Allibone, *Dictionary*, III, 2753.

⁵⁷ Francis, *Old New York*, pp. 99-100. It is stated here that Williamson "had great reverence for the past, and was anecdotal in our revolutionary matters, and cherished with almost reverential regard the series of cocked hats which he had worn at different times during the great crisis of his country."

⁵⁸ *North American Review*, XII, 37, Jan., 1824, quoted in Allibone, *Dictionary*, III, 2753.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, XII, 44 (July, 1860), quoted in Allibone, *Dictionary*, III, 2753, review by Professor H. M. Hubbard.

ark, Delaware.⁶⁰ His biographies relate frequent trips on the part of Williamson, not only here but also abroad, in quest of funds for the academy at Newark and for similar institutions.⁶¹ In 1783 he was making suggestions to Iredell for the establishment of a seminary at Edenton.⁶² He was one of the original trustees of the University of North Carolina and he served in a similar capacity for the College of Physicians and Surgeons and for the University of the State of New York.⁶³

Amidst all the plaudits bestowed on Williamson during his long and varied career, he was never hailed as a great democrat or as a man of the people. He could not qualify as such, for he was essentially an aristocrat. His name appeared on the exclusive "invitation list" of Mrs. John Jay in 1787-88,⁶⁴ and his marriage the next year fell in the category of a "society event."⁶⁵ At times in Congress he was impatient with some of his more democratic and more humble colleagues. He complained in 1788 of interruptions on the part of a shoemaker Congressman from New York and Thomas Person, North Carolina democrat, wrote sarcastically that some people thought that it might be wise to refrain from sending Williamson to Congress until the president of that body could give assurances that its membership should be drawn exclusively from the ranks of the well-born.⁶⁶ When the Hillsboro convention rejected the Constitution, Williamson was fearful lest such an act would establish common bonds with recalcitrant Rhode Island and that the North Carolina delegates in Congress might be expected to fraternize with the Rhode Island delegates, one of whom (Peleg Arnold) was a tavern keeper and the other (Jonathan Hazard) an "illiterate 'quondam' skipper of a small coasting vessel" and now "the very leader of Know Ye Justices."⁶⁷ Toward the inhabitants of the new West he did not show a sympathetic attitude. This region was a proper investment field for himself and others but he was dubious about admitting new states from it on an

⁶⁰ *Dictionary of American Biography*, I, 181-182, article by Thomas Woody.

⁶¹ Francis, *Old New York*, pp. 97, 101.

⁶² McRee, *Iredell*, II, 68.

⁶³ *Dictionary of American Biography* XX, p. 300.

⁶⁴ Griswold, *Republican Court*, pp. 98-99.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 102-103.

⁶⁶ Trenholme, *Ratification*, p. 193, note.

⁶⁷ Burnett, *Letters*, VIII, 785; *Iredell*, II, Williamson to Iredell, Aug. 23, 1788.

equality with the older ones on the seaboard.⁶⁸ He wrote to Iredell in 1788 that his friends knew that he did not "depend for support on public favor."⁶⁹ When he voted for the excise in Congress in 1791, contrary to the sentiments of many of his constituents, he told a friend that he had done his duty to his conscience but that he had lost his popularity and probably would never again be elected to Congress.⁷⁰

It is possible for us to know how Williamson looked in his old age, for we have a description from the pen of one who knew him well. We are told that he was "a peculiarity in appearance, in manners, and in address" and that he was "tall and slender in person, with an erect gait." To a person encountering him upon the streets his appearance may have seemed as "grotesque" as did his oratory to his fellow Congressmen, for we are informed that "he perambulated the streets with the air of a man of consideration; his long arms and his longer cane preceding him at a commanding distance, and seemingly guided by his conspicuous nose, while his ample white locks gave tokens of years and wisdom."⁷¹ It is also stated that his portrait by Trumbull "is true to life, and eminently suggestive."⁷² A sculptured likeness of Williamson is not available. In 1791 the Italian artist, Guiseppi Ceracchi, was in Philadelphia executing busts of several of the "distinguished characters." Williamson was asked to sit for him but declined the honor in what has been described as a "puerile manner."⁷³

He died in the summer of 1819 while driving in his carriage to the country to escape "from the excessive solar heat in June."⁷⁴ An accurate appraisal of him seems to be that of the admiring Doctor Francis, "Take him altogether, he was admirably fitted for the times, and conscientiously performed many deeds of excellence for the period in which he lived."⁷⁵

⁶⁸ Beard, C. A., *Economic Interpretation of the Constitution*, pp. 50, 146-147; Trenholme, *Ratification*, pp. 92-93; Burnett, *Letters*, VII, 47 Williamson to James Duane, June 8, 1784.

⁶⁹ Burnett, *Letters*, VIII, 785; McRee, *Iredell*, II, 236.

⁷⁰ Hosack, *Memoirs*.

⁷¹ Francis, *Old New York*, p. 99.

⁷² *Ibid.*, p. 102.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, p. 99; Griswold, *Republican Court*, p. 354.

⁷⁴ Francis, *Old New York*, p. 100.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 102.

UNPUBLISHED LETTERS FROM NORTH CAROLINIANS TO POLK

Edited by
ELIZABETH GREGORY MCPHERSON

[Continued]

FROM HUGH WADDELL¹⁸⁸

Hillsboro, N.C. Oct^r. 18. 1845.

My dear Sir!

Will you forgive me, if I honestly acknowledge that nothing but a foolish awkwardness arising from the difference of our political opinions, has prevented me from writing you long since & hailing your elevation to the Presidency as an event as *grateful* to my personal feelings, towards you, as it was *ungrateful* to my political.

I doubt not you can appreciate these feelings or I should not now express them, with the frankness of our boyhood.—

I sent you a message last summer by Mr. Lucius Polk¹⁸⁹ which I hope he delivered.— It was in substance this: “That I deeply regretted that you should desire any thing on this Earth, that I could not aid you in obtaining *heart & hand*. Yet such was then my situation— but that he might also say that there was no man in America, if the Whig candidate was to be defeated, whom I had so soon see in his party elevated to the Presidency as yourself.”—Indeed such was the strength of these personal feelings, that I was actually rebuked publicly by zealous Whig friends, for speaking of you, when canvassing Orange for a seat in the Senate, in the terms which our long continued friendship required at my hands— I beg you will understand me, as not in any manner claiming to have abated my opposition to the party whose head you are & then were, but that I would suffer myself in discussing public measures, on no occasion to speak of you personally, but with the respect & esteem I had always felt for you.—

I rejoice to find however that these feelings are reciprocated on y^r. part, as I judge they are by several Kind messages which you have done me the honor to send me first by my personal friend Col. John D. Hawkins,¹⁹⁰ & secondly by my Kinsman Judge Ogden¹⁹¹ of New

¹⁸⁸ For a sketch of Hugh Waddell see *North Carolina Historical Review*, XVI, (1939), 188n.

¹⁸⁹ See *ibid.* p. 191n.

¹⁹⁰ John D. Hawkins (Apr. 15, 1781-Dec. 5, 1858), son of Philemon and Lucy Davis Hawkins of Warren County, graduated from the University of North Carolina in 1801; entered politics and represented Franklin County in the house of commons of the state in 1834, 1836, 1838 and 1840; became a large landholder and extensively engaged in the cultivation of tobacco. He owned a large flour mill where wheat was ground for toll. He sponsored internal improvement and with Joseph Hawkins, and George W. Mordecai, he went personal security for \$400,000 to aid in the building of the Raleigh and Gaston Railroad. He married Jane A. Boyd (Dec. 5, 1784-Nov. 30, 1875), daughter of Alexander Boyd of Boydton, Virginia. Ashe, *Biographical History of North Carolina*, VI, 160-163.

¹⁹¹ Robert Nash Ogden was valedictorian of the class of 1822 at the University of North Carolina. He not only served as a member of the legislature of Louisiana, but also served

Orleans who was with me a day or two since.— I need not say how grateful to me these kind remembrances were— coming as they did, from one whose situation might very well have excused some obliviousness, especially of one who had no particular claims on his *present* memory.—

I was gratified in common with all your old friends in Carolina, at the intelligence I rec^d. through Col. Hawkins, that you would visit our Alma mater, at the next Commencement. I shall be pleased once more to tread the Halls where our boyhood mimicked in miniature, the stirring scenes of mental conflict in which so much of *y^r. riper years* have been passed. We can recall many a face amid those scenes which we shall never see again & thus far such a visit will be sad, but there are those still living who will aid us in conjuring up a thousand incidents of the gay & ludicrous which will never cease to be remembered with pleasure.—

Pray present me most kindly to M^{rs}. Polk *if she remembers me*, & say that I have never forgotten her marked kindness in Washington when I met you there & also that I must insist she will accompany you in *y^r. expected visit*.

I would here close this desultory letter, but that an appeal has just been made to me which I cannot resist & which I think you will pardon me for mentioning. Among many others who removed to the South some years since, from N. Carolina, were my brothers & owing to a serious disaster they have been ruined, altho, they left this state with large property: The oldest Col. Haynes Waddell is now in N.C. with a large family and is absolutely without means. To justify me in alluding to his case I must state that, his brother in law. Rev^d. W^m. M. Green,¹⁹² our old friend, seemed to think that if I would appeal to you in his behalf you would give him some appointment by which he might not only support his family, but thereby advance his two sons, who are very fine young men.— In the first place then, he is & has always been a firm & steady *Democrat* & the only one of the family— was an officer though young in the late war— is educated and capable of filling any place in which general intelligence in business is required

Now as you may suppose I should not make this application even for a brother to any other than our old friend & moreover unless the application could with propriety be numbered among the friends politically of the President.— Having said this much for him it might perhaps be expected that I should indicate *some place*. But this I cannot undertake to do; His poverty would prevent his entering into Bond in large sums & I must therefore leave the whole matter to *y^r. discretion and kindness*—

as speaker of the house of representatives. He was judge of the superior court and United States district judge in Louisiana. Battle, *History of the University*, I, 286-288, 712, 790.

¹⁹² For a sketch of William M. Green see *North Carolina Historical Review*, XVI (1939), 190n.

It is a source of chagrin to me, that my first attempt at renewal of our ancient intimacy should be clogged by such an unwelcome application as this must need be to him who has the Power, but my sympathy for a brother in such circumstances must be my apology.

With my Kindest & most respectful salutations to Mr^s. Polk, I am
My dear Sir.

Y^r. ancient & faithful friend

FROM ROMULUS M. SAUNDERS¹⁹³

Raleigh Dec^r. 6th. 1845.

My dear Sir

I thank you for your attention in forwarding the message- which I read with deep interest & great satisfaction. It has been received by our democratic friends, with the highest gratification & has silenced the clamours of the Whigs-The latter in the Country will wait to receive their tone from the city organs-But I feel well satisfied your sentiments in regard to Oregon & the Tariff will make a favorable impression upon our people. The renewal of the proposition to compromise on your part- the refusal by the other party & his extravagant offer, places you in the right & cannot fail to give satisfaction to every cause of the Country-The tone of the message is less belligerent than I had been led to fear- and is at the same time sufficiently firm & securely- We have A Convention on the 8th- for the renomination of our Candidate for Governor- when we shall respond to it, in the strongest terms- Fisher¹⁹⁴ is likely to be our candidate- and should our friends in Congress carry out your recommendations, I feel great confidence in our carrying the State- I feel so much pleased with the message that I am more than ever proud of the humble part I took in your election - and should our mother state be brought back within the democratic ranks, I am frank to say, this document will have contributed largely to the result - God grant that it may be so-

I beg to tender my congratulations on your present position & the bright prospects before you - I repeat that the sentiments of the message is exactly the thing for our people-

With sincere respect

& esteem - yr.friend

His Excel^y

Jas J.Polk

¹⁹³ Romulus M. Saunders continued to take an active part in politics while he waited for the United States Senate to confirm his appointment as minister to Spain.

¹⁹⁴ Charles Fisher declined the nomination for governor of North Carolina. *Biographical Directory of the American Congress, 1774-1927*, p. 968.

FROM HUGH WADDELL¹⁹⁵Hillsboro Dec^r. 10.1845.

My dear Sir

I cannot resist the opportunity presented by the first mail of thanking you for the very great pleasure which I have received from the perusal of y^r. *first* Message as President of the United States! ! And if any thing could have added to this pleasure, it is found in the manner in which I received it, *from y^r. own hands*.

I have not now the time being much & necessarily engaged, to advert to the parts of it which please me most, but will merely remark that its decided ability its lofty spirit, & its liberal tone upon all the great questions of interest to the Country, must & will command for its author, the undivided respect of all parties.— It may be truly added that this is no small compliment, if reference be had, to the many difficult complicated & perilous questions on which you were obliged to treat.

I have regarded the Tariff & the Oregon question as of the greatest interest as well as difficulty, but I was indeed gratified to see how they are discussed in the Message, in which it is difficult to determine whether the reasoning on the first or the manliness on the last topic is most to be commended.— But I must forbear for the present.—

I received several messages from you through my friend Col Hawkins of N^o. C^a. & Judge Ogden of La: which reminded me forcibly of the sunny days of old Chapel Hill.— I was so moved by them that I wrote you a long letter in October, post marked "Greensboro" I must suppose has never reached you, as it was in part on a subject of some feeling to me & I was convinced you would not have slighted its requests. Although we differ on Political subjects I have never felt any diminution of the sincere esteem & respect with which you inspired me when we were boys & unknown to Fame & I assure you, even among your Political friends you have not one who more sincerely congratulates you on the elevation you so handsomely & *without solicitation* received at the hands of the American People than does y^r. ancient & constant

friend & classmate

N.B. — Be so Kind as to present me most respectfully to M^{rs}. Polk to whom I was so much indebted for her many elegant & courteous attentions to me when I was in Washington & say to her we may yet dine together in the *White House* when she will not be a *guest* as she was when we dined with Gen. Jackson.

¹⁹⁵ See Hugh Waddell to Polk, Oct. 18, 1845.

FROM JOHN H. WHEELER

Beattysford N C

(Private)

31. Dec '45

My esteemed Sir

I thank you most heartily for the copy of the message. It meets universal approbation from all quarters. Even those who were prepared to dislike it, cannot find any cause of complaint. The feeling too of the Democrats as to the Oregon is sound, and the Federalists, lost too much by opposing last Nov. ever to run counter to popular feeling. Although doubtless many of them will be opposed again.

As one of the movements of this section of the union, and of the day I enclose the proceedings of one of our meetings the convention meets on the 8th prox^o. at Raleigh

I also enclose a letter declining on my part the honor of the nomination— I prefer the honor of being associated with your Administration whenever it suits your views to call for my services.¹⁹⁶

¹⁹⁶ The newspaper clippings referred in Wheeler's letter and those enclosed in Wheeler to J. K. Walker, December 25, 1845, have been preserved in the Papers of James K. Polk. Wheeler frequently urged Polk to give him a federal job. In addition to corresponding with Polk, he also wrote his secretary. The following letters are in the Polk manuscript.
"Beattysford, Catawba Co., N. C.
25th Dec '45

"My dear Sir

"At this season of joy and festivity I take occasion to thank you for the copy of the message which I received by our course of mail. It is needless to say that I read the document with unalloyed satisfaction. Its bold manly and *American* tone attracts the attention and admiration of all parties in this section while his views on the Tariff strengthens the Democratic party and inspires them to fresh caution and encreased zeal. Be assured that in North Carolina it has a decided effect, & will greatly aid us in regenerating our state.

"We have a convention on the 8th proxo. Enclosed is our proceedings on the 9th inst. which was held before we received the message but you will observe in the resolutions respecting the President how accurately we had anticipated his views. Be pleased to show it to him with my respectful regards. I had in a most public manner declined the honor of a nomination for Governor, and I am of the opinion that Fisher will be nominated, & whoever is nominated, I believe will be elected.

"The principal reason why I have declined is that a nomination is attended with much inconvenience and when accomplished the appointment is more expense than profit; and my name was before the President and from his assurances and my own personal wishes, I believed that I ought to decline the nomination. I enclose an article from the Standard at Raleigh on the subject of which we have conversed. Be so good as to show it to the President.

"I am rejoiced to see the spirit with which Texas is ushered into the Union. The strong national feeling in favour of Texas cannot be resisted. Equally so is our people affected towards Oregon, and from conversations with leading men of both parties I am satisfied that war would be preferable to yielding one minute of our meeting.

"Allow me soon to hear from you and with cordial regards to the President.

"I am very sincerely

"Yours

"JNO. H. WHEELER"

"Col- J. K. Walker

"Beattysford, No. Ca. 20th feb '46

"(Private)

"My esteemed Sir

"I have just received a letter from a leading friend in Virginia urging my presence at Washington— that Com. Shubrick takes command on the 1st proxo. of the navy yard at Washg; and that Wells of Con. goes into the Bureau of Provs and Clothing— that this is not pleasing to our Southern friends, nor agreeable to the Navy, for it was from a distinguished Officer of the Navy he derives his information.

"Now from our intercourse & your kindness you know that last fall I conferred freely with you on the subject that I had reason to believe that the President would at an early day call me to this Bureau, and in this belief have positively declined all promotions at home preferring to bring my services and influences (if any) to aid the administration in this Bureau. If the President has changed his views I believe that his grounds will

Wishing you every happiness and success, with my respectful remembrance to Mrs Polk I am my dear Sir

Yours sincerely

P.S. Our old friend Col Johnson "the Hero of the Thames" wrote to me that he had written to you recently.

I am glad that your idea of our Senator Mangum will be realized. he is going tolerable well, and nothing but class flatteries ever seduced him from us.

I hope that you will have no reason to complain of his colleague Mr Haywood, before you retire from your post.

FROM HUGH WADDELL¹⁹⁷

Hillsboro, Dec^r. 31.1845.

My dear Sir

I Know not when I have been more truly gratified than on receipt of your much valued favour of the 15th inst. It recalled so many long forgotten thoughts of the days of our youth.— I can scarcely yet realize that my old Classmate should be presiding over the destinies of the greatest nation on Earth.— that at *this moment*, the destinies of Nations are held in his hand, & upon his fiat will mainly depend, the question of Peace or War.—

Amidst so many wise & patriotic men, you will not want counselors of every Kind, yet I feel assured from the tone of y^r. message, that the destinies of our glorious Republic will be in safe Keeping, notwithstanding the perils by which it is environed on every side.

The real danger I fear is that the spirit of our people when roused, especially against our old enemy, will be restrained within proper bounds, with great difficulty.— To one whose position, not to speak of his qualifications, so much better enables him to judge than myself, I shall not presume to offer an opinion upon the great & all absorbing questions which agitate the Country. I cannot however suppress the expression of my gratifications, at perceiving, that if the Country is to be involved in war, there will *quod ad hoc* be but *one* party.— Hearing of the probable acquisition of California & possibly of that of other regions hereafter to be embraced within our wide extending

be good when known— I respect him & myself too much to complain. As soon as the weather permits and the state of the roads I hope to be at Washg. Cannot the matter rest until the 10th proxo. From Mr Bancrofts friendly letters to me I think that we can prevail on him to agree to accede to my wishes. I have much to say but when we meet it can be said

"Yours sincerely

"JNO. H. WHEELER"

"Col J K Walker

¹⁹⁷ See Hugh Waddell to Polk, October 18, and December 10, 1845.

arms, I have wished I could be snugly cornered with you alone, that we might speculate on the probable effects of this spirit of acquisition on the transfer of our countrymen.— It is opening up a vista to my eyes, through which much of good, but I fear none of evil, may be seen in the dim distant future.— I have before me, the “*suis viribus* suit” of insatiable Rome.— But where am I wandering, my purpose when I set down, was first to thank you sincerely for the very kind & even fraternal letter with which you honored me, & I beg you to believe that every feeling of friendship which you have expressed for me, is ardently reciprocated. And secondly in behalf of my brother to tender to you his profound sense of y^r. Kindness, & to add that for fear you may have mistaken his wishes in my first letter, he did not expect any appointment in N.C. but had hoped that in some of the Southern cities such a place might be had as would suit him; He has mentioned the offices in the *mint* at New Orleans, or others in that city where he has relatives & friends who would join in any Bond which were not too great.— This subject is one of such *vital* interest to my brother, that nothing restrains me from pressing its consideration upon y^r. goodness except the delicacy of my situation & the dread I have of being supposed *importunate* with one whose situation is rendered painful from this very cause.— With assurances of my highest respect I am y^r. friend & classmate

FROM WILLIAM H. HAYWOOD¹⁹⁸

[1845?]

Senate Chamber

Wednesday night

Confidential

Der Sir/.

As often happens high excitement has been created on account of Bagby's speech— It is just the time for patriots to keep cool— Temporarily there is peril— May it be only a storm preventing the sunshine of our harmony— I inform you of the peril that you may co-operate— How absurd If Bagby *votes* with us what matter his speech— Expect our friends to stand firm to the *coup* and all will be well— Rashness amongst even our humbler statesmen now may sacrifice all— The *coup* must not be abandoned— The still opposition to the House Resolution is a hostility of scruples honestly entertained and it *cannot* yield If it could it would have been yielded long ago—

But a panic now will lose all and that is all I fear for— I write to you to keep you apprized —Bagby is solemnly pledged to vote for the *coup* & he will redeem it

Your friend

¹⁹⁸ Polk MS., first series.

FROM WILLIAM H. HAYWOOD, JR.

[1845?]

My Dear Sir

My friend Mr McPheeters left the City this morning.

This will be handed to you by Mr Lacy of N. Jersey who is the attendant of Misses Alexander of N. Jersey- I hope they find it agreeable to you and yours to see them- & I am very sorry I cannot leave the Committee to be one of their party

Yours respy &

Thursday morning

FROM WILLIAM H. HAYWOOD, JR.

My dear Sir

The Intelligencer of this morning contains a report of my speech in the Senate that is correct.¹⁹⁹ If you have read a report of it in the Union I will thank you to look over it in the Intelligencer. I was not asked to revise the report of Union wh. does not do me justice.²⁰⁰

Very truly your friend

W City 2 Jan'46

FROM WILLIAM H. HAYWOOD, JR.

Confidential

W.City 20 Jan 1846

Dear Sir

A man named Jno Danforth whom I do not personally know has had the *impudence* to address me a letter from New London Conn^t. begging me to keep in the hands of the Com: the nomination of Charles F Lester²⁰¹ Colr for that port for *fear its decision may create a division of the Demo party at the next Connecticut election*- if it occurs before the Election

¹⁹⁹ Prior to March 4, 1873, no official reports of the debates and proceedings of Congress were published. As a matter of fact verbatim reports of the speeches of members of Congress were not attempted by the newspapers until 1848 when the government began to subsidize the *Union* and the *National Intelligencer*. Speeches which members of Congress wrote out and handed to the editors of the *Congressional Globe* were usually printed in the *Appendix*. Even after the government began to pay for reporting its proceedings in the newspapers, it was not uncommon for members of Congress to complain about being misrepresented in the newspapers and the *Congressional Globe*.

²⁰⁰ Haywood's speech on the Oregon question, delivered in the United States Senate, December 30, 1845, was printed in the *Congressional Globe*, 29th Congress, 1st sess., *Appendix*, pp. 45-46.

²⁰¹ The nomination of Charles F. Lester is not mentioned in the *United States Senate Executive Journal*.

I find you have not nominated him yet and in order that you may not be unjustly suspected of keeping back this nomination for such a purpose, I write you this note to suggest to you the propriety not to say the necessity for early attention to it The letter to me I would enclose but with *you my word* will suffice & the letter I am in duty bound to lay before the Com of Commerce at the meeting to morrow

faithfully your friend

FROM JOHN H. WHEELER

Beattysford, Catawba Co. N.C

(Private)

30th Jan '46

My esteemed Sir

In a conversation with you last fall as regards the *Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence*,²⁰² I stated that the only copy extant was in Mecklenburg County, in the hand writing of John McKnitt Alexander, who was the Secretary of the meeting in Charlotte on the 20th May 1775, and that this paper was still in the possession of Dr M. Winslow Alexander, son I believe of John McKnitt Alexander.

I went to the sale of Dr. M.W.Alexander (who is recently dec^d.) and was informed that Gov^r. Graham, whose sister Dr M.W. Alexander had married, had taken charge of this important paper, and carried it to Raleigh.

When in Raleigh on the 8th of Jan (inst.) I called on the Governor to allow me to examine this venerable document; which he did. This paper was the basis of the Document published by the Legislature of N^o. Carolina in 1830, through a committee the chairman of which was Thos. G. Polk Esq.

The paper has all the genuine marks of authenticity about it; but the copy submitted by the committee and by them published has a *list of names prefixed* which the original paper *does not* present.— the first name of which is Col *Thomas* Polk, the ancestor of the then Chairman. It is to be presumed that this list of names was obtained from the statements of Rev^d Humphrey Hunter and others, and if so, the Committee or its Chairman can say themselves why the name of your ancestor was omitted who was Capt Jack says “was among those who took the lead” in that crisis.

²⁰² The correspondence of Wheeler to Polk, July 15, 1844 and William H. Haywood, Jr., to Polk, August 22, 1844, pertains to their efforts to determine whether Ezekiel Polk signed the Mecklenburg resolutions. There are several documents in the Papers of James K. Polk in regard to the question that were published during the campaign of 1844.

I write this to say that I had understood that among the names your ancestor Ezekiel Polk was recorded, and therefore carefully examined the ancient record.

But while this is not the case; there is no reason either in truth or justice why the names of *those* who *are* mentioned in the certificates of those who were not actors in these scenes (but mere lookers on and boys) should be recorded in our account as stated in 1830 and the *names as recorded* by Capt James Jack who resided at this time in Charlotte, who was privy to the designs and meetings of the leading characters of the day, who *all acknowledge* was the bearer of those proceedings to the Continental Congress at *Phil^a*. should be omitted entirely.

I have seen an old copy printed of the Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence and on which among the signers is the name of Ezekiel Polk. But the original paper which I have carefully examined has no names whatever, and therefore all the names either prefixed or affixed on but based upon the statements of contemporaries.

The Governor will (as he informed me) submit all the ancient papers to the next Legislature, and there these facts will be made public and manifest.

I have thus performed what I had intended or promised you to do, in relation to the Meck^s. Declaration of Independence.

We have nothing political in the old state worth communicating. We find hard work to get out a candidate for the Governor's chair. Our nominee G W Caldwell²⁰³ declines. I think your old college friend Walter F. Leake²⁰⁴ would make a good run.

All eyes are turned on Congress on the Oregon question. Our plain people all understood your excellent message; and both parties Democrat and Whig was for the *notice*. But they are a little bothered when they see J Quincy Adams and others advocating the notice and some of our southern friends not anxious for it. The creed of "a masterly inactivity" is ridiculous to us all.

Excuse this letter & believe me very

respectfully & sincerely your

sincere friend

His Ex

Jas K Polk

²⁰³ Green W. Caldwell was superintendent of the mint at Charlotte from January 2, 1844, until he resigned in 1847 to accept an appointment as captain in the United States Army. The latter appointment was confirmed by the United States Senate, March 3, 1847. *United States Senate Executive Journal*, VI, 199. 207; VII 211, 238-239.

²⁰⁴ For a sketch of Walter Leak see *North Carolina Historical Review*, XVI (1939), 174n.

FROM WILLIAM H. HAYWOOD, JR.

[Jan. 1846.]

Dear Sir

Annexed are 4 forms—²⁰⁵ I like the 2nd. best — That is shortest — It supercedes the necessity of conferring with Mess' Senators at all — The only object would be to place upon record such an *avermat* as will exclude the inference from the journal as it now stands that you had a sinister design. It should be done shortly without argument & without liberal proof & without reason— The *single word* of the Prest should be assumed by him as it will be admitted by others to be a sufficient verification of a fact— His *ipse dixit* on such a point sufficient. I strongly incline to make that a reference to the letter as in no. 3. & it is certain the letter itself as in no 4 would be *tender* of *evidence* that your communication *affirms*, it is true. . To be sure it is very *conclusive* proof — But is it consistent with the dignity of a *President* to prove his explanation? It is no *contest* of yours but to bare explanation — nothing more — should you concur in this either no 1 or no 2 will be taken as a form of a letter of nomination

In such a case you might if you choose deposit the *letter* of C & S with me to be used in my discretion in the Senate or out of it to stop the mouth of any gainsayer — Should you do that it would be imprudent to let any one know I had it in my possession for any purpose —

Depend upon it I will be true & faithful to your reputation & feelings— But if you mean to consult with *any one* who has had or may have an interest in this tangled letter thing do not do it until you

²⁰⁵ The forms suggested by Haywood were filed with his letters and read as follows:
 "I nominate A. B. of..... to be Consul at in place of J. H. T. who was appointed in the recess in the place of C. D. recalled and whose nomination to the Senate was withdrawn on 15 Jan 1846.
 1st James H Tate's nomination was withdrawn before I had any knowledge or information directly or indirectly of the resolution that was pending before the Senate in relation to it— This fact I feel it to be my duty to state in connexion with this nomination

"I have the honour &c

"J. K. P.

"or this:

"2nd After 1846.

"I think it my duty to state the fact that James H. Tate's nomination was withdrawn before I had any knowledge or information, directly or indirectly, of the Resolution that was pending before the Senate in relation to it—

"I have the honour &c

"J. K. P.

"or this:

"3rd After 1846.

James H T's nomination was withdrawn in consequence of an application by the Senators from Miss. made to me by a written communication which was rec'd on 15 Jan 1846 but I had no knowledge at the time of my withdrawal of that nomination that any Resolution had been moved or was pending before the Senate in relation to it.

"I have the honour &c

"J. K. P.

"or this:

"4th After 1846

"James H. Tate's nomination was withdrawn solely in consequence of a written request by the Senators from Miss which accompanied this communication

"But I had no knowledge that any resolution had been moved or was pending before the Senate in relation to that nomination when it was withdrawn by me

"I have the honour &c

"J. K. P."

are upon the eve of starting off your Secy with the new nomination— If it gets out that you are counselling & deliberating upon such a subject too much consequence will be attached to it & no good will come of it

“Thine as ever”

FROM DAVID W. STONE

Raleigh No Ca Feby 11, 1846

My dear Sir

I wrote you sometime since last summer (in consequence of a letter which I then understood had lately been written you in my name desiring an appointment) saying that I did not desire any office and situaton as I then was comfortably and pleasantly I did not;²⁰⁶ but since then a sad reverse has occurred in my situation & prospects and I am now very desirous of getting an office that will afford me employment and a fair compensation for my services— and hoping that I may rely somewhat on an old college acquaintance — and the recommendation of my friends the Hon: W.H.Haywood of the U S Senate to whom I beg to refer you as to my qualifications &c— as well as to Mr Dobbin²⁰⁷ & any of the other members from this state — I venture to solicit some appointment in which I may engage and shall ever hold the favor in grateful remembrance if you can and will give me an appointment I know you are very much annoyed by such solicitations and I would under no ordinary circumstances intrude any imposition on you but I hope you will excuse me under the circumstances that I am induced to solicit this favor

With much Respect & esteem

Y^r Very obdt. Humble Sevt

His Excellency Jas. K Polk

Prest. of the U States

Washington City D.C

²⁰⁶ See Stone to Polk, September 25, 1845.

²⁰⁷ James C. Dobbin (Jan. 17, 1814-Aug. 4, 1857) was born in Fayetteville, North Carolina, attended the Fayetteville Academy and William Bingham's School at Hillsboro, and graduated from the University of North Carolina in 1832; studied law; was admitted to the bar in 1835; represented North Carolina in Congress from March 4, 1845, to March 3, 1847; returned to the practice of law; was elected as a member of the state house of commons in 1848, 1850, and 1852, serving as speaker in 1850; served as a delegate to the Democratic national convention in 1852; and was Secretary of the Navy in Pierce's cabinet from March 7, 1853, to March 6, 1857. *Biographical Directory of the American Congress, 1774-1927*, p. 912.

FROM WILLIAM L. MILLER

Raleigh, N C, March 12th 1846

Dear Sir

Having long wished a midshipmans berth and knowing the goodness of your heart I have taken the liberty of addressing you about it: I have the greatest desire to serve my country in some manner and thinking that I could serve it best and most effectively on the Ocean I have chosen that for my profession provided you will be so good as to give me a midshipmans warrant.

We are all coming on here finely, The democratic convention used the Whigs (poor piteable fellow by the way) up shockingly especially that Whig leader Daniel Webster, We expect to have a true democratic Legislature and possible a Governor also, but that is not so mutch [*sic.*] looked for. Mr Polk I am 19 years old and 5 feet 2 inches high. And long life and prosperity to all lovers of America

Your umble [*sic.*] servant

P.S I wish you would write soon as I wish to know whether you will gratify me or not

A true democrat by name

FROM WILLIAM H. HAYWOOD, JR.

The com on Commerce in the Senate are desirous of receiving from the proper office the papers &c upon which the President nominated Mr Hedges²⁰⁸ of Missouri and Conway Whettle²⁰⁹ of Norfolk Va.

The President will be pleased to have them sent to the Committee Room in the course of to-day²¹⁰

respy

W City 9 April 1846.

²⁰⁸ On May 5, 1846, the United States Senate rejected the nomination of Isaac H. Hedges of December 25, 1845, for surveyor and inspector of the port of St. Louis. *United States Senate Executive Journal*, VII, 12, 72.

²⁰⁹ On May 5, 1845, the Senate confirmed the nomination of Conway Whettle as collector for the port of Norfolk and Portsmouth, Virginia. Conway had served as collector since March 19, 1841. *Ibid.*, pp. 49, 50, 71.

²¹⁰ At the bottom of the letter from Haywood to Polk, April 9, 1846, is written the following:

"Mr. Young chief clerk of the Treasury Department will send to me by my messenger the papers referred to, in Mr. Haywood's note: Apr. 9th 1846:

"J. K. POLK"

FROM WILLIAM H. HAYWOOD, JR.

Private

My dear Sir

I hoped to see you this Evening but my daughter reached here on her way home and I am compelled to go with her she having no other means of getting there & if I do not go tomorrow morning I shall miss the stage for Newbern where my family are.— Circumstances which are of no interest to you make it necessary she should go without delay & I have been up nearly all night in preparing to leave—

I have been industrious & faithful in my enquiries so far as they could be conducted without disclosing my objects— My mind is convinced (as before) that the Bill cannot pass— I wrote you a note by Mr Walker²¹¹ concerning the purpose & of a particular Senator — There is no doubt of his opposition to all or any *bill* upon the subject—

Hoping that God may prosper you & guide your admⁿ. I bid you adieu for a few days only I will be at my post again *Deo Volente* 17th May or before

I go to Newbern & not to Raleigh

I am your friend &c.

Midnight. 7 May 1846

FROM WILLIAM H. HAYWOOD, JR.

W. City

27 May 1846

Confidential

Dear Sir

Do not permit the importunity of others to prevail upon you to re-nominate H. Horn until I see you.—²¹² Grieved as I am that so good a man & so faithful an officer should have been rejected I regard it as my first duty to protect *you* against taking position upon it without knowing the real state of facts. I should have gone to you last night but the crowd at your rooms excluded the idea of a visit on business—

Your friend

²¹¹ J. Knox Walker was private secretary to James K. Polk.

²¹² The nomination of Henry Horne as collector of customs for the district of Philadelphia was rejected by the United States Senate on May 25, 1846, by a vote of twenty-one to twenty-five. Four days later his nomination was again presented and on June 24, 1846, he was rejected by a vote of twenty-one to twenty-eight. *United States Senate Executive Journal*, VII, 13, 75, 80, 104.

FROM WILLIAM H. HAYWOOD, JR.

Private

My Dear Sir

For reasons to be communicated before you are to act, some of which you must anticipate, I avail myself of the earliest moment to say that the Whig friends of Senator Barrow²¹³ are exceedingly anxious to have him made a Brig^r. Genl The military and political reasons for it appear to me to be very cogent and I hint the point now in order to keep you advised in the premises. I am very sincerely your

friend & obt Serv^t.

W. City 28 May '46

FROM WILLIAM H. HAYWOOD, JR.

My Dear Sir

After my conversation with you on the subject of Mr. Stone's appointment as *Coiner* at Charlotte N. C. I wrote to Mr Stone and advised him to go immediately to Philadelphia and there to learn for himself what were the duties of the office. That in a week's time he would be able to determine whether he was suited to the Office & the office to him- & I am sure he will act accordingly.

Mr Stone is now here and I will be obliged to you if you will send to me a letter to Dr- Patterson directing him to admit Mr Stone into the mint at Phil^a. & to see that he is properly instructed in the duties of a coiner²¹⁴ If you can send me this letter at once Mr Stone can proceed this Evening on his journey & his visit.

Very truly your friend

W. City 29 June '46

FROM JOHN H. WHEELER

Beattiesford N. C. 17th Aug. '46

My esteemed Sir

As I promised as soon as our Elections were known, I would write to you the result; the result is known- the Whigs have the Legislature *but by a decreased majority*. Two years ago it was 22; it is now about 15.

²¹³ Alexander Barrow (Mar. 27, 1801-Dec. 29, 1846) was born near Nashville, Tennessee, attended West Point, studied law, and was admitted to the bar in Tennessee in 1832. Soon afterward he moved to Louisiana where he became a planter and served in the state legislature. He was elected as a Whig to the United States Senate, and served from March 4, 1841, until his death. *Biographical Directory of the American Congress, 1774-1927*, p. 674.

²¹⁴ See Stone to Polk, September 9, 1846.

As to Governor's election, our candidate is defeated. This whole affair was miserably managed. Several who could have made a good run declined. The nominee of our convention declined; then we had two candidates (Leake [*sic*] and Shepard)²¹⁵ this produced a breach, never cordially healed— Then on the very eve of the election, came the news of Haywood's disaffection, which while it encouraged the enemy, as to them *affording evidence that the principles of our party* were not *tolerable to a conscientious man*, tended to dampen the exertions of our friends. His conduct every where execrated. I enclose to you a paper from your native county, which shows the light in which his conduct is viewed.²¹⁶ It also affords to you the real sentiments of the country as to your *veto on the Harbour bill*

²¹⁵ Walter F. Leak and James Shepard were defeated for governor by their Whig opponent, William A. Graham.

²¹⁶ The following excerpt from the *Jeffersonian* (Charlotte, N. C.) was enclosed with Wheeler's letter:

"HON' WILLIAM H' HAYWOOD'.

"On Monday last, we received the painful and startling intelligence that the Hon. William H. Haywood had resigned his seat in the Senate of the United States, and that his resignation had put in jeopardy the new Tariff Bill, which has just passed the House and is now before the Senate. This information was most unexpected to men of all parties here and at the moment of writing this article, (Tuesday, 4 p.m.) we are still completely in the dark as to the reasons which governed Mr. Haywood in the course he has seen proper to adopt.

"The campaign of 1844 was fought in North Carolina, as well as in other portions of the Confederacy, with a most distinct and vivid understanding on all hands, that the Democracy were opposed to the Tariff of 1842, and pledged, should they be placed in power, to advocate its alteration or repeal. In that campaign, Mr. Haywood agreed in opinion with the Democratic party of the State on this vital question; and indeed, the very Legislature which elected him to the Senate, expressed its decided opposition to the Protective System, and a desire that a Revenue Tariff should be enacted. A majority of the people of this State, in our humble opinion, is at this moment opposed to the Tariff of 1842, and in favor of such a bill as that recently passed by the House of Representatives; and, so far as the *Democratic party* of the State is concerned, we feel confident that, without a single exception, they heartily approved the course, pursued by their Representatives in the House, to-wit: Messrs. Dobbin, McKay, Biggs, Clark, Daniel and Reid. These gentlemen have truly reflected the will of their constituents and of the Democratic party of the State; but with the light before us, we are compelled to say, with profound and unaffected sorrow, that Mr. Haywood has deserted his friends at a moment when they had a right to count upon his assistance and co-operation, and that in this matter he has proved faithless to his State, faithless to the Democratic party, faithless to the interests of the South, and to the South, and to the repose and welfare of the whole country. Never before have we penned more reluctant words; *but our duty must be discharged*. We go for *principles*, not men — take from us all things else, but leave us our principles and our country.

"The course of M. Haywood will produce regret and sorrow among the Democracy of North Carolina— but nothing more. Not one Democrat will be shaken from the path of duty. As one man, the Republicans of the good old State will continue to oppose the abominable Tariff of 1842; nor will they pause in their efforts until they shall see the Tariff abolished, and a just and equal Revenue Tariff become the established policy of the Government. *Men* may die, or betray the interests of a confiding people; but *PRINCIPLES* are immortal."

"From the *Jeffersonian*, Charlotte, N. C., Aug. 4:

"MR. HAYWOOD.

"This gentleman's promised 'vindication,' has yet come to hand, unless we take the labored defence of his treachery by all the Federal tariff papers in and out of this State, as such. If we believe these Federal papers in what they now say, they always regarded Mr. Haywood as the purest of all our politicians, notwithstanding, only a few months since, they vilified and traduced him in terms the most bitter and vulgar. Out upon such hypocrisy!

"In his defense of Haywood in the Senate, Mr. Mangum made a remark that stamps Haywood's treachery with a deeper stain than it originally seemed to possess. He said he had the assurance (from Haywood of course) that if he (Haywood) had have been sure he could by his vote 'defeated the Tariff Bill, he would not be ineffectual in producing the result, he determined to resign.' Was there ever such a bold declaration of such base, damnable treason! If his vote would have defeated the Bill, he would have staid and voted; but inasmuch as his treason would be ineffectual in defeating the will of the people, and the party who sent him there— inasmuch as the Bill would pass in spite of his treason, he determined to resign: He resigned because he could not *effectually* betray

With assurances of my perfect esteem and respect

I am very sincerely

Yours

Hon Jas K Polk

President of U S

FROM JOHN H. WHEELER

Beattiesford N C 31st Aug '46

My esteemed Sir

I enclose the proceedings of a large and enthusiastic meeting of your native county, in which you will observe how your course is appreciated by the citizens of Mecklenburg.

You will also see that the people have seen Mr. Haywood's address, and solemnly "denounce him as no longer worthy of the confidence of the Republican Party." The meeting as to its members or respectability has rarely been exceeded in this State.

his country, his party, and his principles! Surely the crimson of shame must have mantled the cheek of even Willie P. Mangum, in uttering such a sentence.

"We have not opened a Democratic paper from any part of the country, in which Haywood is not denounced as a traitor and a doomed politician; nor have we met a single Democrat who does not pour out upon him the bitterest curses, and who does not loathe him as the worst of traitors."

"From the *Jeffersonian*, Charlotte, N. C."

"THE VETO

"The country owes another heavy debt of gratitude to James K. Polk, for his veto on the River and Harbor Bill. His veto message will be found in our columns today, and we venture to say its doctrines will meet the cordial approbation of every true Republican in the country. It must indeed be cause of proud satisfaction to the Republican party that in these days of political degeneracy, when professing Democrats, in obedience to sordid local considerations, or selfish ambition, are found betraying the principles they profess to hold sacred, that we have in the Presidential Chair a man of the Republican firmness and nerve of Mr. Polk— who dares meet the crisis like a true patriot, and with that power with which the Constitution has clothed him, arrest unwise and corrupt legislation. Although many of Mr. Polks professed friends, false to their duty and principles voted for the River and Harbor Bill, and were furiously anxious for its passage, fearless of their denunciations, our partiot President stepped forth and killed this spawn of Federalism, and like the departed Sage of the Hermitage, once more saved the Constitution of his country from violation, and the public treasury from being plundered to gratify local interests. Glorious President!—[fortunate man!]

"Thrice happy he,

Who, blessed of God, is by his country blessed."

"Do the Federalists yet ask 'who is James K. Polk?' He is the man of iron nerve and stern Republicanism; placed in the Presidential chair by a free people to guard their Constitutional rights and liberties. In an administration of one short year and a half, he has achieved more for the glory and happiness, peace and prosperity of his country, than any man who ever occupied the Chair of State—proving that our people are indeed worthy of their birthright of freemen and fully capable of self-government—proving that James K. Polk is a true man to his country and to the trust reposed in him by the people. For this last crow[n]ing act of devotion to Republican principles, Mr. Polk deserves a monument as high as the Heavens. The voice of a grateful people will come up to him in shouts of applause; and in the proud temple of Republican liberty, they will enshrine his name amid those of Jefferson, Madison, and a Jackson. Truly was the victory of 1844, a momentous one— a victory of the Constitution, of true Democratic principles, over monopolies, exclusive privileges, and legislative fraud of every kind. The political revolution of 1801, was not more important to the preservation of our Republican institutions."

The union is requested to copy, and therefore after reading be pleased to have the enclosed sent to Mr. Ritchie.²¹⁷ This meeting is entitled to much consideration, since it comes from a region where Mr. H. hoped to have as he had, some friends and admirers, and the first indication of public opinion in N^o. C^a. since the reception of the long and laboured address of Mr. H. It speaks the sentiments of the party in the State, and will be followed by similar expressions of public opinion all over the State.

That your health may be preserved, your administration prosperous, and glorious is the earnest desire of very respectfully

and sincerely yours

To the President of
U S

FROM DAVID W. STONE

Raleigh No Car. Sept. 9, 1846

Dear Sir

I have been thrown utterly and truly out of all employment by the treachery direct & fraud of your supposed friends in whom I too much confided and I am a miserable & wretched man for the want of means to support my family and can get into no employment here—for I have sought & sought & sought [*sic*] it without success and I take the liberty of writing you even to beg & entreat you to give me an office appointment by which I can hope to make a reasonable compensation for the support of my wife & self & if you can & will give me an office in Washington City or elsewhere that you may have at your disposal I shall be eternally obliged to you & will ever recollect it with the deepest & most sincere gratitude—O my Dear Sir relieve me in this case if you can & you will have the gratitude of a deeply distressed wife & of her wretched Husband who is your political & personal friend

His Excellency James K Polk
President of the U States
Washington City D. C.

²¹⁷ Haywood's address to the people of North Carolina, which was delivered in the United States Senate, August 10, 1846, was printed in the *Congressional Record*, 29th Cong., 1st sess., Appendix, pp. 1178-1184.

Instead of sending the clippings to the *Union* as requested by Wheeler, Polk kept them in his files. Nevertheless the *Union* was most bitter in its attack upon Haywood. The latter, however, does not seem to have regretted that he resigned rather than vote for the administration tariff measure which he could not support. See Haywood to Polk, December 18, 1848.

Please write me in reply & say whether you can & will give me an office & oblige yours I have been most of my life employed in Bank as Cashier and the institution I lastly held in this place I resigned to go to Balto to join my supposed friend, no fault was found of me in my office indeed the Directory desired to retain my services but in a foolish moment & gave way to the whim of my supposed friends now I am ruined by it unless you can & will relieve me by giving me an office

FROM WILLIAM H. HAYWOOD, JR.²¹⁸

To the President of the
United States

During the year of your Inauguration I wrote you a letter from this place and if I preserved a copy of it at the time I cannot find it now. The letter to which I allude was the one in which I ventured to suggest the expediency of entering into a Treaty with Texas over & besides her acceptance of the terms of legislative measures as proposed by the Resolutions of Congress.

I am sorry to trouble you when I know your time is so much better occupied by higher concern than mine but if you have kept my letters the trouble of making me a copy of that one will not be great but the favour to me will not be inconsiderable and I will be obliged to you for it. Indeed I presume that the original letter cannot be esteemed of any value to you and if it should be too inconvenient to copy it for me probably you may be willing to send me the original.

It has been my object to preserve for my sons such things where they were immediately connected with my short public life & recent events have made me more solicitous to carry out my intentions toward them. They will be interesting to them when you and I have left the stage of life and gone to account before the great tribunal for all "that we have done" and for that we may have "left undone" in our earthly pilgrimage.

Be pleased to offer my best respects to Mrs Polk and to Mr and Mrs Walker

I have the honour to be yours

Most respectfully

Raleigh 17 Sep 1846.

²¹⁸ Polk MSS., first series.

FROM WILLIAM H. HAYWOOD, JR.²¹⁹

[October ? 8, 1846?]

My Dear Sir

The letter I wrote you & Copy of which I wanted was one that I sent you in the summer after the date of the one you sent me— It is the letter in which I ventured to suggest the policy of your negotiating a *Treaty* with Texas soon after the Resolutions had been accepted by Texas & in addition to the intimating for your consideration that Texas was not a part of the Union but an Independent Govern^t. until our Congress should have finally accepted their new constitution. If you could find it & it were convenient to send me a copy of it I should be thankful for the reasons stated in my last note to you—Believe me I feel great reluctance to trouble you with this little matter of my own when I know your time must be occupied by the great affairs of State—

It may be a more precise description of the letter I allude to to say it is one in which it was intimated that by making both a *Treaty* & legislative *compact* with Texas all parties would be satisfied and contests which I then apprehended be avoided in the American Congress—

With a respectful tender of my best respects to Mrs. P. and the ladies of your household I have the honour to be your obt

P.S. This is the period of my courts & I am constantly engaged in the interest of my profession and that will be an apology for my writing a mere note—

FROM JOHN A. HAMILTON

Chapel Hill October 16th 1846

Sir

The death of my father soon after I had finished my education, and many other accidents in which my own conduct has had no concern, have involved me in difficulties, which threaten altogether to impede my progress in any farther studies, and prevent the means which I hoped were in my power to get my bread; for through the utter want of friends under which I labour, I cannot expect preferment. But with this, sir, I should be satisfied. The reason of my writing to you upon this melancholy occasion is, Sir, what I have already mentioned my entire want of money. My reason for writing to you is that I have often heard that you were of a charitable disposition and if your fortune is so plentiful as I have heard perhaps you will not only pardon the present application, as strange as it may seem from one

²¹⁹ Polk MSS., first series.

you never saw, but may comply with my humble request of loaning me a small sum say \$200. or a less sum will be very thankfully received, and perhaps before new difficulties fall upon me I may find some friend to relieve me further. I only request of you, sir, if you decline this, not to be offended at the presumption of the application, because I would avoid nothing so carefully, as offending one of your station

I am with the greatest esteem, Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant

FROM WILLIAM W. HOLDEN²²⁰

Raleigh, N. C. January 4, 1847.

Sir:

I learn that David W. Stone, Esq. recently appointed by you a Paymaster in the Army of the United States, has returned to this City, and has therefore failed to proceed in the discharge of his duties; and it is now considered certain here, that if he should not resign, it will be necessary to supercede him, on account of the unsettled and deranged condition of his mind.²²¹

In case the office he now holds should be vacant, by resignation or otherwise, permit me to bring to your notice Gaston H. Wilder, Esq.²²² of this City (and at present a member of the House of Commons) as a suitable person to fill it. Indeed, a better selection than that of Mr. Wilder, or one which would be more acceptable to the community generally, *could not be made*.

It has not been my habit to ask for office, either for myself or friends; and I hope you will therefore pardon me for troubling you on this occasion.

With sentiments of the very highest respect, I am, Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

²²⁰ "W. W. Holden," as he usually signed himself (Nov. 24, 1818-Mar. 1, 1892), a political journalist and governor of North Carolina, was born in Orange County. At the age of ten he became a printer's devil on the *Hillsboro Recorder*. In 1837 he went to Raleigh, where he worked on the *Star*, the leading Whig paper. His writing attracted attention and in 1843 he was offered the *North Carolina Standard*, the leading Democratic paper, on condition that he become a Democrat. Under his direction the *Standard* became the most powerful political paper in the State. He was defeated for governor in 1858 and 1864, but in May, 1865, President Johnston made him provisional governor. His political fortunes were doomed in 1870 when the Democrats regained control of the State, for he was impeached in March, 1871, was convicted, and was forever disqualified from holding another office in the State. *Dictionary of American Biography*, IX, 138-140.

²²¹ See Haywood to Polk, January 13, 1847; and Stone to Polk, January 12, 1847.

²²² Gaston Hillary Wilder was a native of Johnston County, graduated from the University of North Carolina in the class of 1838, and represented Wake County in the house of commons in 1842, 1844, 1846, and 1853 and in the senate in 1854 and 1856. Battle, *History of the University* I, 427, 440, 441, 511, 796; *A Manual of North Carolina*, 1913, p. 831.

FROM ASA BIGGS²²³

Washington, [D. C.]

Jany 5, 1847

To the President

Dear Sir

I have just received a letter from a gentleman in Raleigh N. C. upon whose statement I can rely from which I extract the following

"The appointment of David W. Stone Esq assistant Paymaster in the Army has been a matter of much surprise both with Whigs and Democrats in this vicinity. . not that Mr. Stone, as he once was, would not have been very capable of filling the place but it is a fact perfectly well known to every person in Raleigh that for the last twelve months Mr. Stone has been an insane man, his mind perfectly deranged and totally disqualified for any Kind of business. Mr. Polk's friends here were placed in an unpleasant situation Knowing it to be a bad appointment we could only say that the President could not be supposed to know personally every person he appointed to office and that in this case he must have been imposed upon, and what seems astonishing no Democrat in or about Raleigh knew anything of any letter or application going from here in his behalf On receiving orders to report himself forthwith at New Orleans he appointed James Litchfield Jr (one of the most noisy, blustering Federalist in the City) his secretary and an attempt was made to get him off by his family and friends and when the stage drove up to his House for him he refused positively to go and was forced by main strength in the stage and started. He went as far as Wilmington and last Saturday night returned home with his Secretary, He has not been out since but is said to be perfectly frantic, - It said by some he has resigned but I do not believe he has or will resign until he is displaced. Mr. Litchfield and others under whose immediate keeping he is will do all to prevent it and he himself is incapable of deciding any question."

I considered it a duty to give you this information at the earliest moment.

I have the honor to be

Very respectfully

Yr obt servt

²²³ For a sketch of Asa Biggs see *The North Carolina Historical Review*, XVI (1939), 445, note 168.

FROM JOHN H. WHEELER

Raleigh N C 9th Jan '47

My dear Sir

I learn that G. W. Caldwell now Superintendent of the mint at Charlotte will resign his appointment.²²⁴

From this appointment I was ruthlessly removed in, 1841 by Ewing & Co. I shall caused to be presented a memorial from the Dealers in Bullion that my management of the mint gave entire satisfaction. I refer your attention to the warm letters of Dr. R. M. Patterson Director of the mint at Phil^a. Judge R. M. Saunders, Messrs Reid, Daniel, Dobbin, Graham and others of our state in my favour now on your files.

I am prompted to solicit this mark of your kindness, by a wire to save your administration for the support of which I was removed two years ago from the important post of Public Treasurer of N. C.

The Regiment of volunteers from this state is slowly filling up. The message of Gov. Graham, the tone of the Whig papers and orators tend much to repress the ardour of our citizens. The Regiment will eventually be made out, but not very soon.

Accept, Sir, assurances of my perfect
respect & regard

To The President of US

FROM DAVID W. STONE

Raleigh N. C. Jany 10, 1847

Dear Sir

Shortly after receiving the commission of Paymaster &c which you were kind enough to give me I set out as directed by the Paymaster Genl for New Orleans on my way to Mexico and was stopped in Wilmington this State by ill health & confined to my bed for several days & being entirely unable to proceed from my physical disability I returned to my family in Raleigh to recuperate if possible and then go on- but from a letter recd to day from Genl Jonson [*sic*] he says my services are absolutely needed & that I must proceed immediately on to Mexico - Now as I am not well enough to go I cant do so now pre-emptory reverse the order - for I should have long since obeyed it but from ill health - and been in Mexico before this if public conveyances would have carried me there - but my health is not now sufficient to enable me to go and if the public service cant yield to the

²²⁴ Green W. Caldwell resigned to accept a position as captain in the army.

ill health of an officer or you think another should be appointed in my place under the circumstances then I beg that it may be stated that *I relinquish on account of ill health* for I do not wish to be removed under any circumstances – and let me beg of you as a favor to a prominent political friend and schoolmate to give me some clerkship at Washington city the duties of which I can perform even in my present state of health– I beg you for this my dear Sir because from misfortune & other reasons I am now wholly prostrated and have very little to depend on for the support of my family but my own exertions & labours & having been working so long in office I feel almost unfit for other business – and the business being held in all places in this state by my political opponents I have nothing to hope for or expect from them–

I write you more precisely & frankly than perhaps might under ordinary circumstances appear proper to be written to the Prest of the United States but I think I know you well enough to know that office has not put you above being willing [*sic*] to receive frank & free communications from friends and it is therefore through a private citizen that I continue to write you (being president) as I do – but in any other but the most respectful manner but yet as a personal political friend

Yr very obdt sert

Jas J Polk Esq

Prest US

Washington City DC.

I beg you to give me some office in Washington City that I can earn a support for myself & family by or I am overwhelmed by misfortunes– I have as you know me in later days & nothing but the direct misfortune would make me so importune my friend but I am overwhelmed with misfortune & want some coup by which I can regain my health & fortune – & if you can I do hope you will aid me & receive the blessing & the thanks of an old friend & his wife who is one of the best women that ever lived– I entreat you for this favour to enable me to support my family and I do hope you will not refuse me

FROM DAVID W. STONE

Raleigh N. C. Jan'y 12, 1847

Dear Sir,

Being yet confined at home on account of ill health & not able to proceed to Mexico, and from my present state of health not knowing when I shall be able to go forward, and being unwilling to relinquish

all hopes of a support of my family, as I must support them in some way by my own labour – and seeing that Mr Caldwell has lately resigned the Directorship of the Branch Mint at Charlotte– I beg to ask you if you can do so; to give me that appointment as I can go there & do the duties in my present health – and have little doubt that I can discharge them entirely satisfactory to the Government – as it is a kind of business with which I am most familiar– a business that Dr. Patterson the Director at Phila told me I was particularly fitted for (when I was there last summer & he refused to recommend me as Chief coiner for the want of practical mechanical skill) if you can & will give me this appointment my Dear Sir – you will do me a favour and a kindness that never will be forgotten but will always be remembered with the deepest & most lively gratitude & you will preserve a sinking friend from ruin – & distress the overpowering & overwhelming – With the Highest hope & Regard

Your Very Obt & Humble Servt

James K Polk Esq

Prest U S, W City D.C.

FROM WILLIAM H. HAYWOOD, JR.

To the President of the U. States

Sir

I have just rec'd yours marked "private" on the subject of Mr Stone's appointment as Paymaster. I have been absent attending a Court at Wilmington and only last night returned to my home. I lose no time in sending my answer:

I have no doubt you will recollect that when I was a member of the Senate you offered to appoint Stone a Pay-Master and I declined it immediately and without consulting him I did so because I did not think that he suited the office or the office him. That is my opinion still and when he showed me Mr Mason's²²⁵ letter I begged him not to accept it for that he was not a proper man for the place. Like most men however under such circumstances it turned out that he had asked my advice for the sake of disregarding it – and when I saw his appointment officially announced I was sorry for it. –

I knew him much better than the letter writer alluded to by you and I have no hesitation in saying that he is *not* deranged – *no such*

²²⁵ John Young Mason (Apr. 18, 1799-Oct. 3, 1859) was born in Greenville, Virginia; graduated from the University of North Carolina in 1816; served in the legislature of Virginia; was a representative in Congress from March 4, 1831, to June 11, 1837; was appointed Secretary of the Navy March 14, 1844; and was the only member of Tyler's cabinet retained by Polk, who made him Attorney General, an office which he held until September 1, 1846, when he succeeded Bancroft as Secretary of the Navy. *Dictionary of American Biography*, XII, 369-370.

thing - But he never was fit for such an office or any other Military office, and I shall certainly urge him to send his resignation by the Mail which conveys this. If he will not do it in a day or two neither he nor his friends can complain if he is superseded- I am grieved to find in the extract from the letter to which you allude that a North Carolina gentleman should deem it a matter of complaint to the Chief Magistrate that the youth whom a Pay Master may have selected for his *Clerk* holds, *political* party opinions of any sort! I feel sure it could not influence you but I repudiate such a slavish doctrine so much that I could not pass it in a response to your letter. The young man is no favorite of mine- quite the reverse but his politics will never hurt any body I am sorry that Stone was foolish enough to enter upon an office that I foresaw he could not hold. He is at this time sick- (a nervous dyspepsia) and if that alone would demand his resignation- He has many foes and but few devoted friends & probably his disease may be shown in a great degree to that unfortunate condition- But I repeat this he is not deranged. I decline adding the causes w^h I think disqualified him for such an office as there seems to be no occasion for it either as an act of justice to him or to you. .

As for Col Turner I have said heretofore as I repeat now that he is eminently qualified for a much higher station- Reared a Soldier and born brave he would make a better Brigadier General than any one I have heard named for that station. Whether he would be inclined to go to the War it is probable Mr Mason knows better than I do - One thing is certain he is too modest to ask for it if he did.

I write this before I have seen Mr Stone & I shall not put it in the Mail until I have seen him and procured his resignation or given him notice that he ought to be superseded & will be superseded unless he resigns.

Very faithfully yours.

Raleigh Jan^y 13 1847.

FROM WILLIAM B. HAWKINS

Henderson Depot N.C.

January 19 1847

Mr President

Sir,

The multiplicity of applications to you for office would deter me from approaching you upon this annoying subject, were I left to my self, but the solicitations of many friends thus to act, overrule my scruples of delicacy, and I come forward to ask some situation in your gift, which you from your knowledge of my character &c, may

deem me qualified to sustain. Some of our friends express a sanguine wish that I may procure the superintendency of the branch Mint at Charlotte N. C.:—but if from predetermination this cannot be had, I would be extremely pleased to receive at your hands some appointment in the United States army — I am informed that Mr David Stone has, or soon will resign his commission as pay Master; in that event, if it may not seem too suggestive, you will bestow a grateful favor upon me by giving my application your consideration in that point of view.

Let me desire that should you be pleased to consider my application, you will so inform me at an early a day at this place.

Be pleased Sir, to present my best regards to your family & Particularly to Miss Walker.

Most Respectfully Your

Obt. Sert.

FROM WILLIAM M. GREEN

Chapel Hill N.Ca

Jan 25 1847

My Dear Friend

When I first heard of your being called to yr present arduous & responsible station, I resolved that I would never trouble you with any request either for myself or my friends; for I was unwilling to add my name to the multitude that are daily asking appointments at yr hands. And this resolution I have so far kept as merely to bear testimony in company with others, to the fitness of one or two of my young friends for the places which they were seeking. I am now, however, in a good measure *compelled* to break through that rule

James F. Waddell²²⁶ a nephew of Mrs. Green has *by my advice*, and by that chiefly, been induced to abandon the study of the Law, in which he had just been engaged, and offer his services to his country in the ranks of the Army. He has enrolled himself in the company of volunteers just made up in this county, and now on their way to Wilmington. At the time of his enrolment, [*sic*] he was promised the office of Lieutenant; but when the Company came to elect their officers, a man of far less pretensions, but better known to the soldiers, was chosen to fill the place. Being too honourable & patriotic to withdraw

²²⁶ James Fleming Waddell matriculated at the University of North Carolina with the class of 1845, but he did not graduate. On March 8, 1847, he was commissioned a second lieutenant in the United States Army; on March 31, 1848, he was made a first lieutenant; and on July 25, 1848, he was mustered out. His nomination for consul at Matamoras was confirmed, August 23, 1850. He served as lieutenant colonel in the Confederate army from 1861 to 1865. He died on April 23, 1892. *United States Senate Executive Journal*, VII, 401, 410; VIII, 112, 221; Heitman, Francis B., *Historical Register and Directory of the United States Army*, I, 991.

the tender of his services, he now finds himself in the ranks as a common soldier, among associates to whom his birth & education & standing in society have hitherto made him a stranger.

Were not his qualifications of a higher order than common I might have him there to work his way up to a higher grade; but inasmuch as I know that he is qualified to render the country service in a more elevated & responsible station, I feel emboldened to commend him to your consideration as one well fitted to fill the place of Captain or Lieutenant in the new levy of 10,000 men just called by Congress.

Mr. Waddell is, as you know, of one of the best families in our State. To a good physical Constitution he joins a fine person & address. His morals are unexceptionable, and his talents would entitle him to a high rank in any Profession. His hand-writing is very good, and he exhibits great readiness & correctness with his pen. His qualifications as a Writer would eminently fit him for a Secretary or Orderly to any officer of high rank, provided neither of the before mentioned offices are open to him.

In thus recommending my nephew (and it done in all sincerity) I not only relieve my mind from a considerable responsibility, but desire to promote the views of a young man who as I trust, lacks only the opportunity to do credit to himself and the service.

Having thus discharged my duty to my self and my young relative, let me beg that you will yield nothing to mere friendship in this matter, unless you are at the same time assured that you are consulting also yr own duty to yrself & the Country.

I am informed that testimonials of the highest character in behalf of Mr Waddell have been signed in Hillsbrough by the members of both Political parties, and forwarded to the Democratic Members of Congress from this State

Will you pardon me for making a still further request that yr attention may be given to this little matter as soon as yr many & high duties will permit,

Any communication on the subject may be addressed to me, or to Mr Waddell himself at Wilmington.

I feel much disposed to add something more to this communication, of a less business like character; but I must reserve it for another and not distant day.

I will only add my hearty prayers for the successful administration of yr high office, and the assurance of my undiminished regard

Very sincerely

Yrs

His Excellency James K. Polk

FROM JOHN D. HAWKINS

I desire most respectfully a private conversation, only for a few moments, with the President of the U. States, when it may be most convenient to him. Will he do me honor, if it is agreeable to him, to name an hour, when he will afford me that pleasure?

I am most respectfully

Feb'y 1st. 1847.

FROM CHARLES E. SHOBER AND OTHERS²²⁷

Chapel Hill N. C. Feb. 7th 1847

Hon James K. Polk

Sir

We take pleasure in informing you that the "Dialectic Society" of which you are a member, have appointed us a committee to take steps of procuring a portrait of yourself, which we wish to suspend in our debating hall.

Trusting that your early recollections of our common and hallowed fraternity "the Dialectic Society" may induce you to consent that the portrait may be taken; and desirous of showing our respect for a distinguished fellow-member we hereby request that you will at the earliest date inform us whether and when you will consent to sit to have the portrait drawn.²²⁸

With high regards, Sir, we are your fellow members

Chas E Shober Pres.	} Committee
Wm M Howerton	
V. C. Barringer	

Committee

FROM JOHN H. WHEELER

I would respectfully call the attention of the President to the appointment of the Superintendent of the Br. Mint at Charlotte; I had

²²⁷ Charles E. Shober of Winston-Salem graduated from the University of North Carolina in 1847, when he declaimed for honors at commencement. He was a member of the board of trustees of his alma mater in October, 1864, when a resolution was passed by the trustees to urge President Jefferson Davis to exempt students from the draft for the Confederate army. Battle, *History of the University*, I, 508, 735.

William M. Howerton graduated from the University of North Carolina in 1847. He competed for honors in 1845 and 1847, served as chief marshal in 1846, and was president of the Dialectic Society in 1846-1847. His literary triumph was a pen and ink paper issued in 1846 for private distribution by its editor, Wm. Matthew Howerton, with the assistance of a lady. *Ibid.*, I, 493, 507, 508, 513, 569, 586.

Victor C. Barringer of Concord, North Carolina, graduated from the University of North Carolina in 1848. In the declamation contest he selected the subject of "Poetry of the Bible" and won second prize at commencement. He had the honor to serve as judge of the International Court, Alexandria, Egypt. *Ibid.*, I, 483, 801, 836.

²²⁸ On May 20, 1847, Daniel Sully began to paint Polk's portrait for the Dialectic Society. John Y. Mason also gave Sully his first sitting for his portrait for the Philanthropic Society of the University of North Carolina. The two oil paintings are now in the possession of the societies. Quaife, *The Diary of James K. Polk*, III, 32.

the appointment at the first organization of the Mint; appointed in 1836 by that firm & devoted republican Gen^l. Jackson. In 1841 for no cause but my devotion to democratic principles I was removed by Ewing & C^o. I settled with my successor B. S. Guthrie my heavy bullion and cash accounts of nearly 100,000 \$ in one hour after his arrival at Charlotte; this settlement was verified or confirmed by the accounting officers of the treasury and I was most honourably discharged.

On the success of Democratic principles under your auspices, in March 1845, George Woodbury of the Sup Court; Col Johnson late V. President; Gen^l. Jesse Speight, Col A. H Sevier of the U.S Senate Dr. R. M Patterson Director of the Mint at Phil^a. all united in a wish to see me restored. In July last, the Democratic candidate for Gov. in N^o. Ca. wrote to you and stated that from many sections of the State "no man in N^o Ca. possessed more cordially the affection and confidence of our friends."

As regards the appointment now sought, it would seem but an act of political justice to restore it to me. The citizens of Charlotte have united in this request, among whom will be found the names of the high sheriff of the county, the Clerks of the Courts, the members of the Assembly, Editor of the Jeffersonian, and others.

Our delegation from N.C. have suggested the name of others without knowing of my name would be before you, indeed understanding that it would not be. Some who have done this, have notwithstanding have recommended my name. The delegation is divided. Gen^l. Mc Kay & Mr Dobbin for me; Mr Reid for another; Mr Biggs & Clarke & Daniel for another. This is the Democratic faction only. The whole delegation could by an early application were it necessary have been secured. But with the recommendations already alluded to on file, added also to letters of Hon W.P. Mangum, Walter F. Leake; Col Asa Biggs, T. R. J. Daniel J. C. Dobbin and Governor Graham filed in March '46 it was hardly necessary.

I had the honour of commencing my political career under the Hero of New Orleans, and I wish to continue on with under the same principles.

Should there be any doubt on the President's mind as to the expediency or propriety of my appointment; I will cheerfully submit the *point* as between *my* name and *any other* presented to our Delegation in Congress (the Democratic portion) and by their opinion for the President to regulate this matter.

Respectfully submitted

Wash[ingto]n 12th Feb. '47

[To be continued]

BOOK REVIEWS

THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION OF 1824 IN NORTH CAROLINA. By Albert Ray Newsome. The James Sprunt Studies in History and Political Science, Volume XXIII, Number 1. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press. 1939. Pp. 202. \$1.25.)

Professor Newsome's monograph on the presidential election of 1824 in North Carolina is a study of "a democratic upsurge." Such a study is particularly valuable because it illuminates the neglected history of the common man in the Old South. In an introductory chapter Professor Newsome penetrates beneath the surface play of politics to examine the conflicting interests involved in such questions as the tariff, banking policies, and internal improvements. He makes the most realistic exposition known to the reviewer of the internal divisions of the State in regard to internal improvements. He also shows the economic vassalage of the State to its neighbors, Virginia and South Carolina. One-fourth of the monograph is devoted to this sketching of the social and economic background of the election—a proportion entirely justified.

The main thesis of the monograph is that in 1824 there occurred a democratic revolution within North Carolina against the old, aristocratic leadership. This victory of the people over the attempted dictation of veteran politicians was a forerunner of the great democratic upheaval of 1828 in other states. It was a revolt of the undeveloped western and extreme eastern parts of the State, which needed internal improvements, against the more prosperous and favored Middle East that supported a policy of "governmental inactivity."

The monograph describes the strong hostility that developed in the State against the undemocratic method of nominating presidential candidates by the caucus. This factor seems to have been the motivating cause for the emergence of the People's ticket. Since William H. Crawford was the candidate of the old political leaders of the caucus, it became the strategy of the opposing factions to effect a union to defeat him. The chief engineer of this combine, which was given the name of the People's ticket, was Charles Fisher of Rowan County, manager of the Calhoun campaign in North Carolina. At first the People's ticket favored the nationalistic Calhoun, but tried to conciliate

the adherents of Jackson and Adams by promising the support of the ticket to the candidate most likely to defeat Crawford. Early in 1824 it became apparent that this candidate would be Andrew Jackson, whose popularity began to develop with amazing rapidity. The Calhoun boom in the State collapsed when news came that Pennsylvania had rejected the Carolinian in favor of Jackson. The People's ticket then took up the cause of Jackson and won a decisive victory at the polls.

Professor Newsome has minimized the importance of personalities in the campaign in North Carolina. From a study of the campaign literature, he believes that the contest in the State was primarily over issues, the question of internal improvements, of the tariff, and above all, of the overthrow of the old aristocratic leadership that supported Crawford. To the reviewer, on the other hand, the great popularity of Jackson with the electorate seems to have been based on the personal qualities and the military career of "Old Hickory" rather than on his platform. It is also a question in the mind of the reviewer whether "the democratic upsurge" of 1824 was not a transfer of political power from one set of politicians in the State to another rival set.

Professor Newsome's monograph is based on thorough research into a large collection of private papers, public documents, and newspaper sources. The voluminous material has been digested and interpreted by a ripe scholarship. All the newer techniques — map studies, geographic, economic, social approaches—have been utilized to throw light upon the meaning of a political campaign and election. The result is a sound, historical study, which, although limited to only one state, makes a contribution to our national history. Only one serious detraction should be made from the general excellence of the monograph. An opportunity was missed to make illuminating comparisons of the election in North Carolina with that event in other Southern states. Such a comparison is highly desirable in order that the reader may appreciate the full significance of the political revolution in North Carolina.

CLEMENT EATON.

LAFAYETTE COLLEGE,
EASTON, PA.

THE LIFE OF BRAXTON CRAVEN. A Biographical Approach to Social Science. By Jerome Dowd. (Durham, N. C.: Duke University Press. 1939. Pp. xvi, 246. \$3.00.)

Seldom does the biographer have the opportunity enjoyed by Professor Dowd of revising his published work after the lapse of forty odd years. The first edition of his *Life of Braxton Craven* was published in 1896 and now its author has produced a pretentious revision as one of the volumes commemorating the centennial of the beginnings of Duke University, the impressive outgrowth of Doctor Craven's Trinity College. The striking difference between the new and old versions of the life of the inspiring founder is to be found in synthesis and interpretation rather than in essential facts. The author was a student at Trinity during the last years of Craven's presidency and later became a member of the college's teaching staff; while thus employed he wrote the original biography. Since that time he has had a long and distinguished career as a teacher and writer in the field of sociology at the universities of Wisconsin and Oklahoma. It is as a veteran sociologist that he now seeks new meaning and significance in the facts presented in his earlier study.

The facts known about the early life of Braxton Craven can be summarized briefly. Born in 1822 in Randolph County, North Carolina, he spent most of his boyhood in the school of hard work. The disappearance of his father and the early death of his mother deprived him of a normal home environment. When about seven years old he was taken into the family of Nathan Cox, a prosperous Quaker farmer and business man of the community. Here he learned to do all of the tasks familiar to the country boys of his generation in Piedmont North Carolina, but the routine of labor on the farm and in the gristmill, distillery, and sawmill of his foster father was broken by short periods of attendance at nearby country schools. When about fifteen years of age he became a member of the Methodist Church and shortly thereafter began to preach. After studying two years at the Quaker classical school at New Garden (now Guilford College), he was appointed assistant teacher at the recently organized Union Institute at Trinity in his native county. Within a year he became its principal (1842) and for

the next four decades devoted all of his talents to building up the institution which in 1859 received the name of Trinity College. In spite of his very limited formal education, he became a competent and inspiring teacher of nearly every subject in the college curriculum, the master of four foreign languages, and an eloquent and tolerant preacher. At the same time he retained his interest in the practical realities of life, operating his farm, serving as a soldier for a time in the Confederate armies, and always living the part of kind father and good neighbor. His death in 1882 deprived North Carolina of one of her most gifted and useful sons, of a born leader who had persevered in his course in spite of obstacles which at times seemed insurmountable.

Those familiar with the excellent study by Professor George P. Schmidt entitled *The Old Time College President* (*Columbia University Studies*, Number 317, New York, 1930) will recognize in Doctor Craven a type found in scores of American denominational colleges in the generation preceding the Civil War. Like him these other presidents are remembered as great teachers with amazing ranges of knowledge—they often taught all of the subjects studied in the senior year. They were nearly all preachers who were not too much interested in the mental gymnastics of theology. Many of them engaged in farming and other occupations in order to eke out their small and uncertain salaries, although few were as successful as Doctor Eliphalet Nott of Union College who bequeathed his institution \$600,000. Using Professor Dowd's terminology, they were all "Stalwarts" or "Creative Men," endowed with ambition, earnestness, and the genius of leadership.

The picture of Doctor Craven thus far presented may be found in Professor Dowd's biography of 1896 and is open to no serious criticism. In the volume under review, however, the author introduces much new and, on the whole, extraneous material, which the historian considers of very doubtful validity. In attempting to explain why a "Creative Man" sprang from the unpromising soil of Randolph County, for example, he overlooks fairly obvious facts, and fills in the gaps by resorting to imagination and psychoanalysis. Knowing little about the character and personality of Doctor Craven's

mother, he makes her into a paragon of strength by the simple device of assigning to her all of the fine traits later shown by her illustrious son. "I do not doubt," says he, "that a competent psychoanalyst could study what is known of Braxton Craven up to his fifteenth year and form a fairly accurate judgment as to the character of his mother" (p. 30). The boy had unconsciously acquired his mother's characteristics, even though he had little or no recollection of her. By this method all that the biographer needs for an indefinite number of character studies is knowledge of one individual, whose traits may then be fitted to a succession of men and women back to the dawn of time and forward to the end of history. The father is eliminated entirely as a formative influence because he deserted his wife and three children when the eldest, Braxton, was only four or five years old and because he was never seen again. The Quaker family with whom the boy lived is likewise considered of no importance (pp. 27-28), although the author later reverses this opinion (p. 130). The reviewer wonders why the Reverend John Craven (p. 52) is overlooked as a major influence in his nephew's life. After all it was while visiting at his uncle's home that Braxton Craven joined the church, and then, like his uncle, became a Methodist preacher. However interesting hypothetical characters, motives, and situations may be, their creation cannot be recommended to sober historians.

The scholarly mechanics of Professor Dowd's work are extremely rudimentary. There is no bibliography and there are only a few references and footnotes; the main source cited is his 1896 edition. There are many repetitions and contradictions which could have been reduced or eliminated by more careful editing. (Compare for example: pp. 12 and 33; 13 and 32; 8 and 31; 29, 130, and 169-173; 35 and 50; 116-117 and 151.) In spite of its shortcomings, however, the volume may be read with enjoyment by all, and with profit by those capable of distinguishing between substance and shadow; while those who like their history seasoned with a dash of moralizing will find it much to their taste.

ROBERT T. THOMPSON.

RUTGERS UNIVERSITY,
NEW BRUNSWICK, N. J.

HISTORY OF GASTON COUNTY. By Minnie Stowe Puett. (Charlotte: The Observer Printing House, Inc., 1939. Pp. 218.)

The history of North Carolina will never be properly written until the history of its various counties and sections is correctly presented. Within the past decade more county histories and local historical pamphlets have been published than in any other similar period of the State's history. Nearly one-fourth of the counties of North Carolina have had their history compiled and published to date, the latest such history being that of Gaston County.

In an effort to preserve the local history of the State, the North Carolina Historical Commission about ten years ago sponsored a movement to interest the counties in compiling and recording their histories. In coöperation with the Historical Commission, county historians were named by boards of education in a number of counties. This group of local historians has been responsible for the greater part of local historical publications since 1928, including the history of Gaston.

This book is not a history of Gaston County in the sense of it being a chronological story of its growth. Rather, it tells, in the form of sketches, the early history of that section of the colony and state which was old Tryon County, later Lincoln County, and now Gaston County. Mrs. Puett opens her story with a splendidly written chapter on the geographical features of the county, followed with a still more interesting chapter on the Catawba Indians. This chapter, incidentally, is the best in the book and shows much research on the part of the author. The early settlers then come in for their just share of space.

Of the eighteen chapters, twelve are devoted to the period up to the close of the American Revolution. Five chapters consisting of thirty pages tell the story of Gaston since its formation in 1846. One-half of the text is taken up with genealogical and biographical sketches of early settlers and participants in the Revolution. These sketches could have been used more properly as footnotes.

The author could have enhanced the value of her work had she presented her story in chronological sequence and woven into the text and between local events a sketchy background of state history.

The political history of the county has been ignored. With the exception of an inadequate chapter of six pages on textiles, the economic development is also omitted, which seems strange when it is recalled that Gaston is one of the chief textile manufacturing counties of the United States, and ranks very high in agricultural production. The reader looks in vain for a chapter on the phenomenal commercial growth of Gastonia. Likewise the author fails to make any mention of the remarkable educational development of the county.

Four pages outline the history of Goshen church and six pages are given to the rise and development of Catholicism in Gaston County, the latter being the minority religious organization. No other mention is made of church history, although three denominations represented in that section are older than the county.

In a few instances typographical errors occur. "King's Mountain" is used consistently throughout the text for "Kings Mountain."

Committees of Safety *were* organized in all of the counties (p. 98) and assumed unto themselves the functions of civil government. Also, Tryon County was one of the three or four most loyal counties in the colony to the British cause in 1775-83. Tryon was much longer than eighty miles (p. 99) and lost but little territory to South Carolina by the survey of 1772.

There was no "Tryon Declaration of Independence" of August 14, 1775 (p. 103). The Committee of Safety termed it "An Association" to be in effect "until a reconciliation shall take place between Great Britain and America on Constitutional principles."

No references are quoted and there is no bibliography of source materials used. Unfortunately, county records were not consulted in compiling the book, and too much dependence was placed on printed sources already available. There is a good index.

With all of its failures, however, such volumes as this one are of much importance. They serve to awaken an interest in local history in the county concerned. This book will very properly focus attention upon Gaston's history among the thousands of residents of that county. The author's work has not

been in vain if nothing more is accomplished than just that. This book has the advantage of having been written clearly and entertainingly. The material included becomes accessible to the research student and to any other person interested in procuring the information thus revealed and preserved. It is hoped that county historians of other counties will follow Mrs. Puett's example and make available the historical treasures of their counties.

CLARENCE W. GRIFFIN.

FOREST CITY, N. C.

CHILD LABOR LEGISLATION IN THE SOUTHERN TEXTILE STATES. By Elizabeth H. Davidson. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press. 1939. Pp. 302. \$4.00.)

This study of child labor legislation is an important contribution to the growing literature of Southern industrialization. In making the survey, the author has elected to concentrate her attention upon four Southern States: North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, and Alabama. These are the leading textile states, and outside the textile industry child labor constituted a problem of no great magnitude. Only brief sketches are given of legislation in Virginia, Tennessee, Mississippi, and Florida.

The use of child labor in textile mills was by no means limited to the South. It simply happened that the South experienced its industrial growing pains at a later time than the East. During the 1880's when the establishment of a cotton mill in the South was regarded as a distinct service to the community, there was no thought of restricting child labor. Many a family was rescued from the poverty of worn-out farms by the mills, and children of such families were accustomed to work. Mill work was regarded as no worse than farm work. Very small children were sometimes taken to the mills because their laboring parents had no place to leave them. But manufacturers found child labor useful and cheap and keenly resented attempts of reformers to procure legislation against it.

Strictly speaking, the beginning of child labor legislation in the Southern textile states came in Alabama during the legislative session of 1886-87. A statute was passed which limited the working day of children under fourteen years of age in

manufacturing plants to eight hours a day and which forbade children younger than fifteen years to work in iron or coal mines. This measure, however, elicited little press comment, and there is no evidence that it was really ever enforced. Cotton mill counties soon secured exemptions, and the law was repealed for the state as a whole in 1895.

Despite the lack of local concern, this "Crime of '94-'95" served to focus the attention of the American Federation of Labor on the problem of child labor in the South. That organization soon sent a full-time worker, Miss Irene Ashby (later Mrs. Macfadyen), to Alabama to coöperate with the Alabama Federation of Women's Clubs and other interested groups in agitating for the passage of an effective child labor law.

From Alabama Miss Ashby's work branched out into other Southern States. Results were at first distinctly disappointing. Many Southerners were suspicious of organized labor and resented its interference. The reformers, however, had the satisfaction of seeing moderately good child labor laws enacted by 1903 in each of the four Southern textile states except Georgia. Georgia followed suit three years later. The basic feature of most of these early laws was a twelve-year limit for child labor with exemptions for orphans and children with dependent parents.

The child labor controversy around the turn of the century produced a widespread and heated debate on Southern labor conditions. The Northern press was prone to picture Southern mill children as "little slaves chained to machines." These aspersions Southerners resented. Even Southern reformers did not always welcome Northern intervention, though they themselves denounced Southern manufacturers for perpetuating the system of child labor. Their arguments were chiefly humanitarian. They pointed out that child workers were being stunted in their physical and mental development. Long hours of work left no opportunity for recreation and education. Labor leaders asserted, too, that cheap child labor depressed the general wage scale for adults.

To these charges, the manufacturers retorted that they employed children only because parents insisted on it, that mill work was not heavy or injurious, and that children were better

off in the mills than running the streets. Those who wanted to go to school could do so. The prevailing wage and hour scale was necessary in order for Southern mills to compete with older and better established Northern mills. The reformers were charged with being tools of Northern mill interests; the workers, themselves, rarely voiced objections to the system.

In 1904 the National Child Labor Committee was organized through the efforts of Edgar G. Murphy, an Episcopal clergyman of Montgomery, Alabama, and other interested persons. Though national in scope, this organization was quite active in the South. Dr. A. J. McKelway of Charlotte, North Carolina, was its secretary for this area.

Efforts to enact national child labor legislation proved ineffective. The Beveridge Amendment of 1907 failed of passage in Congress, and two regulatory statutes of Congress were declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court. A child labor amendment, passed by Congress in 1924, was not ratified by the requisite number of states.

Though Southerners in Congress generally opposed federal child labor legislation on the grounds that it was violative of state rights, the Southern States in recent years have largely banned child labor. North Carolina, for example, by 1937 had established a general age limit of sixteen years, with exceptions in the case of restricted employment outside of school hours. Manufacturers were gradually persuaded to accept this type of regulation.

In recounting the story of the enactment of child labor legislation in the South, Miss Davidson has done a faithful job of reporting. She has consulted a wide range of sources and has carefully organized her findings. For quick reference, the tabulated summary of Southern child labor legislation by state and by year is most useful. The classified bibliography of thirteen pages is proof of the author's initiative and industry.

Though the merits of the book far outweigh its demerits, the reviewer wonders if the material could not have been presented in a little more readable form. Details of long controversies do not always seem to contribute to the essential conclusions. One follows many a bill through the legislative mill only to find that it failed of passage. The organization of the narra-

tive by states, while in many ways justifiable, is in others unfortunate. It involves the repeated telling of a story which differs in setting and characters but not in plot. Not a great deal of insight is given into the actual mill conditions which gave rise to the agitation for child labor legislation. The reviewer, for one, would like to know more about those lazy "dinner-toting" fathers who subsisted on the earnings of their minor children.

W. A. MABRY.

MOUNT UNION COLLEGE,
ALLIANCE, OHIO

THE OTHER HALF OF OLD NEW ORLEANS. Edited by E. Merton Coulter. (University, La.: Louisiana State University Press. 1939. Pp. 108. \$2.00.)

This little volume consists of a seven-page introduction by the editor, and fifty-three short sketches of scenes and characters from the recorder's court of the Second Municipality of New Orleans. All of these sketches were originally published in the *Picayune*, between March 7, 1840, and January 31, 1841; seventeen of them, or almost a third, in the one month of September.

The identity of their anonymous author is not certainly known, but Professor Coulter feels that there is good reason to believe that he was George W. Kendell, a co-founder, and for some years an editor of the *Picayune*. Whoever he was, he had read widely, had acquired considerable miscellaneous information, and was the possessor of an uninhabited imagination, and of a rather characteristically American sense of humor, which depended for effect largely upon exaggeration. From internal evidence it seems probable that he was an admirer of Charles Dickens, and had shortly before he wrote these sketches been enjoying the *Sketches by Boz* and *The Pickwick Papers*, for a large number of the New Orleans ne'er do-wells, who appeared before Judge Baldwin, the recorder, are made to say that the "vorld is a werry wicious vicked vorld," that the "veather vas orful varm," or that they "lacked awailable funds." New Orleans was truly a cosmopolitan city, and those unfortunates who were thrown into the calaboose, were, like their betters, of many different races and tongues, but our re-

porter evidently felt that no dialect was quite so suggestive and humorous as that of Mr. Sam Weller and his cronies.

The book is amusingly illustrated by drawings, which are also faintly reminiscent of those found in Dickens's published "vorks." It is divided into seven sections, or chapters, but the subject matter of all the chapters is substantially similar. In fact, the sketches themselves are all cut from a single pattern. Most of them deal with the subject of intoxication. Drunkards argued with lamp posts, harangued picket fences, composed corny verses, insulted the police, and went to sleep on the sidewalks. They behaved in 1840 very much as they do in 1939; and then, as now, the ruling classes tried to discourage the abuse of alcohol by the laboring poor.

Except for an occasional reference to the balmy climate, the sketches might as well have been written about the police courts of New York, or any other city with a heterogeneous population. Some local color is introduced by the use of the words "Charley" for watchman, "blue" for intoxicated, and "banquette" for sidewalk, but that great New Orleans color, the deep brunette, including the Negro, the mulatto, the quadroon, and the octoroon, is not so much as mentioned. The exotic aspect of New Orleans vice is unmentioned. There is no absinthe, only old Monongahela, which was common tippie in all the west. Gambling, a very prevalent vice of both halves of New Orleans society is almost entirely ignored; and sex raises its serpentine head in only two or three of the sketches. Governor Long and Mayor Maestri already have their hands so full that it would be cruel to suggest another investigation, but just why this little book was compiled and published does offer something of a problem. It is, of course, obvious that it was produced with a view to the gift shop rather than the library. In spite of an illusion by an irate Dutchman to his adversary as a "tam shon of a pitch," there is little in these reports of a New Orleans police court to shock Aunt Lucy. The book will therefore serve admirably as a substitute for a two dollar greeting card. It is also well adapted to adorn the bedside table in the guest room.

THOMAS CARY JOHNSON.

THE UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA,
CHARLOTTESVILLE, VA.

A CENTURY OF SOCIAL THOUGHT. A Series of Lectures Delivered at Duke University during the Academic Year 1938-1939 as a Part of the Centennial Celebration of That Institution. (Durham, N. C.: Duke University Press. 1939. Pp. 172. \$2.00.)

This volume consists of seven lectures given at Duke University by seven eminent specialists on as many different topics. Charles H. Judd discusses "An Evolving Conception of General Education"; Harold G. Moulton, "One Hundred Years of Economics"; Henry Sloane Coffin, "Religion in the Last Hundred Years"; John C. Merriam, "Science and Belief"; Pitirim Alexandrovitch Sorokin, "Socio-Cultural Trends in Euro-American Culture During the Last Hundred Years"; Robert Moses, "Plan and Performance"; and Roscoe Pound, "American Juristic Thinking in the Twentieth Century." While each lecture forms a unity in itself, the volume as a whole shows a unified treatment, in scholarly manner, of these important phases of "educational and cultural progress" of the past century, as is pointed out by Robert S. Rankin, who writes the preface.

The chapter by Judd is an important contribution to the history of American education. It serves also to recall his controversy in 1918 with another distinguished American educator (Paul Monroe) over the long debated question whether the public school system of the United States is indigenous or was borrowed about a century ago from Prussia. Judd said it was so borrowed. Monroe said that it was indigenous. The argument, which was marked by a bit of partisanship and a lack of engaging humor, was carried on in *The New Republic* (April 20, 1918) and in *School and Society* (June 15, June 29, and September 7, 1918). Judd still insists that the educational system of the United States at the time of the origins of Duke University (1839) "conformed in the main to the pattern of the dual educational systems of Europe." We may never know the answer to the mooted question, but it is a fact that many American observers of European education a century ago did praise the Prussian school system and that their reports were very influential in this country, if we may believe the books on American education history.

EDGAR W. KNIGHT.

THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA,
CHAPEL HILL, N. C.

HISTORICAL NEWS

On October 20 the Colonel Polk Chapter, Daughters of the American Revolution, unveiled a marker under the "Henry Clay Oak," on East North Street, Raleigh. Dr. C. C. Crittenden delivered an address on Clay's life, emphasizing the presidential campaign of 1844. The inscription on the marker reads as follows: "HENRY CLAY OAK: Henry Clay, on a visit to this city, wrote the famous Raleigh Letter, April 17, 1844, opposing the annexation of Texas. Many authorities believe that this statement cost him the Presidential election of 1844. According to tradition, Clay wrote the letter while sitting under this oak tree in the yard of Colonel William Polk, at whose home he was a guest."

Homecoming day for Pender County was celebrated at Burgaw, the county seat, on November 7. Historical highway markers were dedicated for Hinton James, first student to enter the University of North Carolina and later a civil engineer of note; Samuel Ashe, president of the North Carolina Council of Safety, 1776, one of the first three state judges, and governor, 1795-1798; Alexander Lillington, leader in the Revolution and Whig colonel at the battle of Moore's Creek Bridge, 1776; and S. S. Satchwell, doctor of medicine, a founder of the North Carolina Medical Association, head of a Confederate hospital during a part of the War for Southern Independence, and first president of the North Carolina State Board of Health. Addresses were delivered by Hon. Graham A. Barden, Congressman from the Third District; Dr. G. M. Cooper, Assistant State Health Officer; Dr. Frank P. Graham, president of the University of North Carolina; and Dr. C. C. Crittenden, secretary of the North Carolina Historical Commission.

The town of Fayetteville held a celebration, November 19-25, commemorating the 200th anniversary of the coming of the Scottish highlanders to the Cape Fear Valley and the 150th anniversary of North Carolina's ratification of the Federal Constitution, the chartering of the University of North Carolina, the ceding of the Tennessee territory to the Federal govern-

ment, and the meeting of Grand Lodge of Masons. Paul Green's historic drama, *The Highland Call*, was presented for five successive nights in the old Fayetteville Opera House, and on November 21 a historical pageant, *To Make Men Free*, was staged on the balcony of the old Market House, the site of the building in which the North Carolina convention ratified the Federal Constitution, November 21, 1789. Governor Hoey of North Carolina, Governor Cooper of Tennessee, and many other prominent persons took part in the celebration.

The State Literary and Historical Association, the Folk-Lore Society, the State Art Society, the Archaeological Society, and the Society for the Preservation of Antiquities (each a North Carolina state-wide organization) all held sessions in Raleigh, December 6-9. The thirty-ninth annual session of the State Literary and Historical Association was held at the Carolina Hotel, Thursday and Friday, December 7-8. On Thursday evening Mrs. Bernice Kelly Harris, of Seaboard, gave a talk, "After a First Book," after which Dr. A. R. Newsome delivered the presidential address, "North Carolina's Ratification of the Federal Constitution." A reception to members and guests of the Association and of the allied organizations was then held. At the Friday morning meeting the program including the following: "Fifty Years of North Carolina State College," by Dr. David A. Lockmiller of Raleigh; "My First Chapel Hill Commencement," by Mrs. Hope Summerell Chamberlain of Chapel Hill; a review of North Carolina books of the year, by Dr. Archibald Henderson of Chapel Hill; and a business meeting. The final meeting was held Friday night in the Hugh Morson High School auditorium. Dr. Wallace E. Caldwell, of Chapel Hill, announced the Mayflower Cup award for 1939 and presented a replica to the winner, Mrs. Bernice Kelly Harris, whose book, *Purslane*, had been adjudged the best original work by a resident North Carolinian during the year ending August 31. Mr. John Temple Graves, Junior, of the editorial staff of the *Birmingham Age-Herald*, then delivered an address, "The Eternal South," which brought the session to a close.

The twenty-eighth annual session of the North Carolina Folk-Lore Society was held at the Carolina Hotel in Raleigh, Friday afternoon, December 8, with the following program: presidential address, "Place Names in North Carolina," by Dr. George P. Wilson, of Greensboro; "Folk-Similes," by Dr. J. D. Clark, of Raleigh; "Serbian Folk-Songs," by Professor Phillip Furnas, of Guilford College; "English and Scottish Ballads and Other Folk-Songs Collected in North Carolina"; the playing of records electrically transcribed during the summer of 1939, by Dr. Frank C. Brown, of Durham; and a business meeting.

The North Carolina State Art Society held its annual session on Wednesday and Thursday, December 6-7. On Wednesday evening, at the Carolina Hotel, Mr. Alfred M. Frankfurter, editor of *The Art News*, gave an illustrated lecture, "Masterpieces of Art at the New York World's Fair," and afterwards, in the Society's gallery on the second floor of the Supreme Court Building, a reception was given and a special exhibition of paintings was shown. At the Carolina Hotel a business meeting of the Society was held Thursday morning and the Board of Directors met that afternoon.

The seventh annual session of the Archaeological Society of North Carolina was held Saturday morning, December 9, in the Board Room of the State Agricultural Building. Dr. Robert Wauchope, of the University of Georgia's Department of Anthropology, delivered an address, "Recent Developments in the Archaeology of Georgia," which was followed by a business meeting.

The North Carolina Society for the Preservation of Antiquities took out a charter on October 4. The organization meeting was held on October 20 in the Hall of the House of Representatives in the State Capitol, when a constitution and by-laws were adopted and the following principal officers were elected: president, Dr. Joseph Hyde Pratt, Chapel Hill; first vice president, Mr. James Boyd, Southern Pines; secretary-treasurer, Mrs. C. A. Gosney, Raleigh. The Society's Board of Directors and Advisory Committee met separately at the Carolina Hotel, Thursday morning, December 7, and that aft-

ernoon at the same place a meeting of the Society was held with the following program: "The Restoration of Tryon's Palace," by Miss Gertrude Carraway, of New Bern; "The Coördination of Objectives in Historical and Archaeological Work in North Carolina," by Mr. Harry T. Davis, of Raleigh; "Restoring the Ancient Town of Bath," by Rev. A. C. D. Noe, of Bath; "The Society's First Branch—in Guilford County," by Mr. McDaniel Lewis, of Greensboro; and a business meeting.

Dr. A. R. Newsome of the University of North Carolina presided at the various sessions of the annual meeting of the Society of American Archivists at Annapolis, Maryland, October 13-14. His presidential address, "The Archivist in American Scholarship," was published in *The American Archivist*, Vol. II, No. 4 (October, 1939). On November 21 he spoke at Duke University at exercises commemorating North Carolina's ratification of the Federal Constitution. On November 25 in Washington, D. C., he met with Society of American Archivists' Committee on Uniform State Archival Legislation, of which he is chairman, working on the preparation of a model law dealing with the administration of state and local archives.

Dr. Loren C. Mackinney of the University of North Carolina is the state representative of the membership committee of the American Historical Association. He will be glad to receive applications for membership in the Association, and also the names of persons who might be interested in joining.

Dr. Howard K. Beale of the University of North Carolina read a paper, "On Rewriting the History of Reconstruction," at the annual meeting of the Southern Historical Association at Lexington, Kentucky, November 3.

Dr. J. C. Russell of the University of North Carolina presented a paper, "Some Effects of Rapid and Continuous Population Change," at the autumn meeting of the American Philosophical Society at Philadelphia, November 17.

Dr. D. A. Lockmiller has been appointed acting head of the Department of History and Government at State College.

Dr. J. C. Sitterson of the University of North Carolina read a paper, "Financing and Marketing the Sugar Crop of the Old South," at the meeting of the Southern Historical Association at Lexington, Kentucky, November 3.

At the annual meeting of the Southern Historical Association at Lexington, Kentucky, Dr. B. B. Kendrick of the Woman's College of the University of North Carolina was elected vice president of the Association.

Dr. A. M. Arnett of the Woman's College of the University of North Carolina gave a report on Federal aid to libraries at the annual session of the North Carolina Library Association at Southern Pines, October 27.

The American Historical Review, Vol. XLV, No. 1 (October, 1939), includes an article by Dr. W. P. Cumming of Davidson College, "The Earliest Permanent Settlement in Carolina: Nathaniel Batts and the Comberford Map."

Present at the third annual meeting of the Society of American Archivists at Annapolis, Maryland, October 13 and 14, were the following from North Carolina: Dr. A. R. Newsome, of the University of North Carolina; Dr. C. C. Crittenden and Mr. D. L. Corbitt, of the North Carolina Historical Commission; and Mr. S. B. Marley, of the Historical Records Survey. Dr. Newsome, for the third time president of the Society, delivered the presidential address, and Dr. Crittenden read at one of the sessions a paper, "Publication Policies for Archival and Historical Agencies."

The Survey of Federal Archives is now issuing mimeographed inventories of Federal records in North Carolina. Inventories of the records of the Departments of Agriculture, Justice, the Treasury, and the Navy have been distributed to various government agencies, libraries, and historical associations throughout the country. Those of the Departments of Commerce and the Interior, the United States Courts, and the War Department are nearing completion and will be distributed at an early date.

On August 31 the Historical Records Survey of the Works Projects Administration was terminated as a single nationwide project, and was replaced by a series of locally sponsored projects, technical control over which was retained by Dr. Luther H. Evans as national director and by a national technical project sponsored by the Library of Congress. The State Historical Commission acts as sponsor for the local project in North Carolina, which went into operation September 1 with Mr. Dan Lacy as state supervisor and with Mr. Colbert F. Crutchfield as assistant state supervisor. The Survey has now completed its inventory of the county archives (North Carolina is the first state in which this phase of the work has been successfully concluded), and is now engaged in preparing inventories of state and church archives and guides to manuscript collections. More than one hundred workers are on its pay roll.

The North Carolina Historical Commission announces the publication of *The Historical Records of North Carolina*, Volume III, *The County Records, Nash-Yancey*, edited by Charles Christopher Crittenden and Dan Lacy. This completes the publication of inventories of the records, known to exist, of all the North Carolina counties, extant and extinct. The copy for this volume and for the preceding volumes of the series was prepared by the Historical Records Survey, whose work is described above. The series contains merely lists of the county records, and not copies or calendars of these records. No genealogical information is included. The series is distributed by the Historical Commission free of charge except for a mailing fee of twenty-five cents per volume.

Books received include: *North Carolina: A Guide to the Old North State*. Compiled and written by the Federal Writers' Project of the Federal Works Agency, Works Projects Administration (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press. 1939); Dwight L. Dumond, *Antislavery Origins of the Civil War in the United States* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press. 1939); Robert Leroy Hilldrup, *The Life and Times of Edmund Pendleton* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press. 1939); Eugene Tenbroeck Mudge, *The*

Social Philosophy of John Taylor of Caroline (New York: Columbia University Press. 1939); David A. Lockmiller, *History of the North Carolina State College of Agriculture and Engineering of the University of North Carolina, 1889-1939* (Raleigh: Edwards and Broughton Company. 1939); Augustus White Long, *Son of Carolina* (Durham: Duke University Press. 1939); Stanley John Folmsbee, *Sectionalism and Internal Improvements in Tennessee, 1796-1845* (Knoxville: The East Tennessee Historical Society. 1939); Joseph Carlyle Sitterson, *The Secession Movement in North Carolina, The James Sprunt Studies in History and Political Science*, Vol. XXIII, No. 2. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press. 1939); Oliver Perry Chitwood, *John Tyler: Champion of the Old South* (New York: D. Appleton-Century Company. 1939); William Couper, *One Hundred Years at V. M. I.*, two volumes (Richmond: Garrett and Massie. c. 1939).

The following is published by request: The non-receipt by a subscriber of any European chemical or other scientific journal seriously needed as research material should be promptly reported to the American Documentation Institute. The Cultural Relations Committee of ADI, which coöperates closely with the Cultural Relations Division of the Department of State, is working on this problem, and hopes to be able to surmount such war obstacles as interrupted transportation, embargoes, and censorship, which so grievously affected the progress of research during the last war. The principle should be established, if possible, that the materials of research having no relation to war shall continue to pass freely, regardless of the countries of origin or destination. Reports, with full details of where subscription was placed and name and address of subscriber, volume, date, and number of last issue received, should be addressed to: American Documentation Institute, Bibliofilm Service, c/o U. S. Department of Agriculture Library, Washington, D. C.

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THE NORTH CAROLINA HISTORICAL REVIEW

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CONTENTS

GOVERNOR VANCE AND THE PEACE MOVEMENT, PART II.....	89
RICHARD E. YATES	
THE GENTRY OF ANTE-BELLUM SOUTH CAROLINA	114
ROSSER HOWARD TAYLOR	
ADMIRALTY IN 1861. THE CONFEDERATE STATES DISTRICT COURT FOR THE DIVISION OF THE PAMLICO OF THE DISTRICT OF NORTH CARO- LINA	132
WILLIAM MORRISON ROBINSON, JR.	
UNPUBLISHED LETTERS FROM NORTH CARO- LINIANS TO POLK [<i>Continued</i>].....	139
ELIZABETH GREGORY MCPHERSON	
NORTH CAROLINA BIBLIOGRAPHY, 1938-1939.....	167
MARY LINDSAY THORNTON	
BOOK REVIEWS	180
LOCKMILLER'S <i>History of the North Carolina State College of Agriculture and Engineering of the University of North Carolina, 1889-1939</i> —By RICHARD E. YATES; LONG'S <i>Son of Carolina</i> —By HOPE SUMMERELL CHAMBERLAIN; CRAVEN'S <i>The Repressible Conflict, 1830-1861</i> —By CHARLES S. SYDNOR; DUMOND'S <i>Antislavery Origins of the Civil War in the United States</i> —By FRANK L. OWSLEY; MCFERRIN'S <i>Caldwell & Company: A Southern Financial Empire</i> —By W. A. MABRY.	
HISTORICAL NEWS	191
LETTERS TO THE EDITOR.....	195

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This review was established in January, 1924, as a medium of publication and discussion of history in North Carolina. It is issued to other institutions by exchange, but to the general public by subscription only. The regular price is \$2.00 per year. To members of the State Literary and Historical Association there is a special price of \$1.00 per year. Back numbers may be procured at the regular price of \$2.00 per volume, or \$.50 per number.

THE NORTH CAROLINA HISTORICAL REVIEW

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APRIL, 1940

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GOVERNOR VANCE AND THE PEACE MOVEMENT

By RICHARD E. YATES

Part II

"I will see the Conservative party blown into a thousand atoms and Holden and his understrappers in hell . . . before I will consent to a course which I think would bring dishonor and ruin upon both state & Confederacy!"¹

With these words Governor Zebulon B. Vance expressed his determination to break political relations with William W. Holden and to fight the peace movement, which was threatening North Carolina's secession from the Confederacy and was leading the State to the brink of civil war. For months Governor Vance had stood idly by while this movement was growing from a few sullen murmurs into an angry storm. Though strongly disapproving of it, he had done little to arrest it, for he feared that a misstep might be fatal, and he had no desire to convert an erstwhile friend into a powerful enemy. When he became convinced, however, that Holden was working for a convention which might take North Carolina out of the Confederacy, he determined to make a mighty effort to crush the peace movement.

Although this decision was made late in December, 1863, nearly two months passed before the young governor began his fight against Holden and the movement. In this interlude the peace movement continued to grow under the direction of the editor of the *Standard*, who still remained free from Vance's open denunciation. Early in January, 1864, only a few days

¹ Vance to William A. Graham, January 1, 1864. William A. Graham Papers, 1860-1864. MS. (All manuscript sources used in this study will be found in the archives of the North Carolina Historical Commission, Raleigh.)

after the governor had made his decision, Holden served public notice upon him that his reëlection depended upon his attitude towards the peace movement. "If Gov. Vance should go with the people who have honored him by placing him where he is, he will be re-elected, if he should desire it," Holden coolly announced, "but if he should oppose the views and wishes of those who made him Governor, he will be defeated. That is all."² Having threatened the governor with defeat in the election of August, 1864, Holden then prepared the ground to accomplish that defeat. With great skill he presented to the people his argument for calling a state convention. If the war continued for another year, he declared, it would abolish Negro slavery and the rights of the states. "We are, therefore, for a Convention, and for a co-operation with our sister States of the South in obtaining an armistice, so that negotiations may be commenced."³ This vague explanation of what the convention should do was but little clarified two weeks later, when Holden published an imaginary dialogue between a Democrat and a Conservative, in which the Conservative intimated an intention of having conventions of all the seceded states negotiate with the United States for peace.⁴ The editor was tireless in declaring, however, that the people of the State were not disposed "to embarrass the common government, or separate themselves from their co States, or disband the army, or make dishonorable overtures to the federal government."⁵ But Holden never explained how a convention of the State, or a series of southern conventions, could negotiate a better peace than the Confederate government. His position seemed to be based upon the fiction that President Davis, through sheer perversity or a desire for the border states, refused to open negotiations which would lead to the independence of the Confederacy.⁶

While Holden was demanding a state convention and while Vance was still silent, the peace movement received a new impetus from a series of public meetings which began early in January. This resumption of the meetings, which had stirred the

² *Weekly Standard* (Raleigh), quoted by *The Weekly State Journal* (Raleigh), January 19, 1864. (All newspapers used in this study, unless otherwise indicated, are in the North Carolina State Library, Raleigh.)

³ *Weekly Standard*, January 20, 1864.

⁴ *Ibid.*, February 3, 1864.

⁵ *Ibid.*, January 27, 1864.

⁶ *Ibid.*, January 20, 1864.

State during the previous summer, began in Johnston County with the passage of resolutions which, Vance charged privately, had been drafted in the *Standard* office.⁷ These resolutions favored the subordination of the military to civil law, opposed the conscription of the principals of substitutes, demanded negotiations for an "honorable peace," and asserted the right of North Carolina to choose between "a military despotism and her State sovereignty," adding that she would choose the latter "by a Convention of her citizens."⁸ A few days later a public meeting in Granville County adopted resolutions which were almost identical in their thought and unusually similar in their wording to those of Johnston County, demanding that a convention be called "for the assertion and maintenance of the rights and sovereignty of North Carolina" in the event that Congress established a "military despotism."⁹ A meeting of some citizens in Greene County resolved "That the people may cry 'peace! peace!' but there will be no peace, until it is obtained through a Convention, and we appeal to the people from the seaboard to the mountains, to demand of their representatives a Convention. . . ."¹⁰ At about this same time, Vance was informed of a peace meeting in Rutherfordton, where people from all parts of the county were present. From "the unanimity & from private conversation," the governor's correspondent wrote, "I am satisfied that four fifths of this county will go for a Convention. Your friends in this country are very sorry to hear that you are opposed to the Convention & think the news that is being circulated that you are is surely false."¹¹

In the meantime a movement was begun to flood the governor with petitions demanding that a state convention be called. Citizens of Henderson County signed a petition declaring "that in our opinion the time has arrived, when North Carolina should be prepared to resume her sovereignty & speak & act for herself in closing up this dreadful war. . . ." To achieve this end, the petitioners asked that a state convention be elected, which would make "in conjunction with our Sister States of the South,

⁷ Vance to Hale, January 1, 1864 (filed as of January 1, 1863). E. J. Hale Papers, II. Since Vance foretold that this meeting would occur in Johnston County "some time soon" and that it would pass resolutions calling for a convention, which Holden had drafted, it seems probable that the meeting was not a spontaneous gathering of citizens.

⁸ *Weekly Standard*, January 13, 1864.

⁹ *Ibid.*, February 3, 1864.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ J. B. Carpenter to Vance, February 3, 1864. Governor's Papers, February, 1864.

& if they will not thus act—then make for ourselves at least one effort to put a stop to this dreadful civil war. . . .”¹² A similar petition was being circulated in Forsyth County, where the uninformed masses were assured that if they signed the document, the governor would call a convention, and there would be peace and a restored Union in less than three months.¹³ Governor Vance probably was not aware of it, but the state treasurer, Jonathan Worth, guided and encouraged those who circulated the petitions in Forsyth County. To D. H. Starbuck, editor of the *Salem Press*, he sent a petition and the suggestion that four or five thousand copies be printed and sent to “reliable men” in all the counties. In a very short time, he thought, “they would be returned with the signatures of 2/3 of the State—and in this shape would force respect.”¹⁴ In spite of the fact that Worth’s petition had been approved by Holden, it was not adopted by other leaders of the peace movement; and as the records contain no further reference to it, it is probable that the project was abandoned.¹⁵

Even had this petition been generally adopted by the leaders of the peace movement and circulated all over the State, it could have caused the governor little more embarrassment than did the action of the Confederate President and Congress. Ever since the summer of 1863, the central government had felt grave concern over the disaffection in North Carolina, but not until February, 1864, did it take stern action. At that time, and in accordance with the President’s request, Congress passed a law suspending the privilege of the writ of habeas corpus in thirteen specified cases.¹⁶ Although several of these cases could be interpreted to include the activities of the peace men, only one was aimed directly at their work. This was the eleventh clause, which suspended the privilege of the writ when a person was arrested for “advising or inciting others to abandon the

¹² John D. Hyman to Vance, January 30, 1864. Z. B. Vance Papers, III.

¹³ “Humble Citizen” to Vance, February 1, 1864. Governor’s Papers, February, 1864.

¹⁴ Hamilton, J. G. de Roulhac (editor), *The Correspondence of Jonathan Worth*, I, 283-285.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 286-287. Other letters of Worth during this period leave no doubt that he was not in sympathy with the Southern cause and hoped earnestly for reunion with the North. In one letter he hinted that the war should be closed by a general desertion of the Confederate armies (*ibid.*, p. 285); in another he expressed the opinion that “a Union on the old basis will be better for both sections, than separate independence” (*ibid.*, p. 289); and in a third he declared it was “idle to talk of peace except on the basis of a restored union” (*ibid.*, p. 284).

¹⁶ *The War of the Rebellion: Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, Series IV, Vol. III, pp. 203, 204.

Confederate cause, or to resist the Confederate States, or to adhere to the enemy."

Hearing of this bill before its passage and believing it was directed against the disaffected in North Carolina, Governor Vance wrote Davis and earnestly begged him "to be chary of exercising the powers" with which the law would invest him. If the President would only deal cautiously with North Carolina, he declared, her people would remain true to the Confederacy. Already hundreds of Conservatives were working against the efforts to call a convention, and Vance himself expected "to take the field as soon as the proprieties of my position will allow me, and shall exert every effort to restrain the revolutionary tendency of public opinion." He had no fear if the public men in the State were not embarrassed by the central government in their attempts to defeat the movement for a convention, but "I do fear to trust bayonets and dungeons." The governor then attempted to show the reasons for the discontent and disaffection in North Carolina, and in so doing he began an angry correspondence with the President from which neither of them emerged with credit. The people of North Carolina had been suspected, he said, because they were reluctant to leave the Union. Anti-secessionists of the State had been excluded from all the high offices of the government. "Conscription, ruthless and unrelenting, has only been exceeded in the severity of its execution by the impressment of property, frequently intrusted to men unprincipled, dishonest, and filled to overflowing with all the petty meanness of small minds dressed in a little brief authority." He did not hold the President responsible for these conditions, but he did believe it to be his duty to warn Davis that the discontent in North Carolina could not be cured by heavy-handed repression.¹⁷

Davis chose to consider this letter as an unjust attack upon his official conduct, especially upon his use of the appointing power, and he devoted most of his reply to a demand that Vance make specifications of his charges against the executive. North Carolina, he insisted, had not been suspected because she reluctantly left the Union, nor had anti-secessionists been excluded from high civil and military positions. He regretted that subor-

¹⁷ Vance to Davis, February 9, 1864. *Ibid.*, Series I, Vol. LI, Pt. II, pp. 818-820.

dinates, in executing the conscription and impressment laws, had been harsh and overbearing, but it was Vance's duty to send the complaints to Richmond, where they could be acted upon by the proper officials. "I am sorry," he wrote with a suggestion of malice, "that the complaints of the citizens of North Carolina were addressed through a channel by which they failed to reach me." As for the employment of the wide powers with which the suspension of the writ had invested him, he assured Vance that arbitrary measures were not congenial to his nature, "but should the occasion unhappily arise when the public safety demands their employment, I would be derelict in duty if I hesitated to use them to the extent required by the exigency."¹⁸

The correspondence might well have ended here, for Davis had refused to say whether or not he would repress by force the peace movement in North Carolina. But by demanding that Vance send specifications of his charges of unfairness towards the anti-secessionists, the President kept open the profitless correspondence. In his reply Vance called Davis's attention "to the fact that out of some twenty-five or thirty generals appointed from North Carolina only three were anti-secessionists. . . ." When it was considered that two-thirds of the people of the State were opposed to secession until Lincoln's call for troops, it seemed strange "that God should have endowed the remaining one-third with all the military talents." He made no complaint against any of the Democrats who were promoted over anti-secessionists, "but only wonder at the passing strangeness of this singular freak of nature in so partially and arbitrarily distributing the military capacity of the country." As for the complaints of North Carolinians against arbitrary acts, they had been sent to Richmond, but the "circumlocution of military reference" was the only treatment they had ever received.¹⁹

In his reply, which ended the correspondence, Davis informed Vance that each secessionist who had been promoted over an anti-secessionist was well qualified and had received the warm endorsement of Lee, Jackson, and Ewell. He merely stated the facts in the cases Vance specified and refrained "from comment on the contrast between these facts and your accusations."

¹⁸ Davis to Vance, February 29, 1864. *Ibid.*, pp. 824-827.

¹⁹ Vance to Davis, March 9, 1864. *Ibid.*, pp. 830-833.

He wished the governor to understand, moreover, that he distinctly denied "your whole charge, both as to civil and military appointments. . . ." The President then abruptly terminated the correspondence: "There are other passages of your letter in which you have so far infringed the proprieties of official intercourse as to preclude the possibility of reply. In order that I may not again be subjected to the necessity of making so unpleasant a remark, I must beg that a correspondence so unprofitable in its character, and which was not initiated by me, may here end, and that your future communications be restricted to such matters as may require official action."²⁰

In the meantime the suspension of the writ of habeas corpus, which really began the "unprofitable" correspondence, had an appreciable effect upon the peace movement in North Carolina. On February 24 Holden suspended publication of the *Standard*, because, as he informed a friend, "I felt that if I could not continue to print as a freeman I would not print at all."²¹ Although Davis used his great powers sparingly, the suspension of the writ spread something akin to terror over the State. Even as late as September, when the suspension had expired, President Swain, of the State University, observed that "men speak sparingly, cautiously, warily. 'High reaching Buck' . . . grows circumspect."²² When the legislature met in May, it passed strongly worded resolutions against the suspension of the writ²³ and approved a bill making it a high misdemeanor to ignore a writ issued by a state judge.²⁴

It was in the midst of this fear and distrust, engendered by the suspension of the writ, that Vance began his campaign for reelection and his public repudiation of William W. Holden. Although he had made his decision in December, 1863, and despite the fact that many friends insisted upon his immediate break with Holden,²⁵ Vance remained silent until near the end of February. Quietly he made his preparations during the first few weeks of 1864, and with not a little audacity he determined to open his stump-speaking campaign at Wilkesboro—a moun-

²⁰ Davis to Vance, March 31, 1864. *Ibid.*, pp. 844-846.

²¹ Holden to C. J. Cowles, March 18, 1864. William W. Holden Papers, 1852-1889.

²² D. L. Swain to Vance, September 28, 1864. Z. B. Vance Papers, V.

²³ N. C. House Journal, Adjourned Sess., 1864, pp. 44, 45.

²⁴ N. C. Public Laws, Adjourned Sess., 1864, pp. 10, 11.

²⁵ Henry E. Colton to Vance, January 19, 1864 (filed as of January 19, 1863). Z. B. Vance Papers, I; John D. Hyman to Vance, February 17, 1864. *Ibid.*, IV.

tain town in the very heart of the disaffected region. Upon his suggestion, a number of Wilkes County citizens tendered him an invitation to speak at their county seat on February 22.²⁶ The governor promptly accepted the invitation and made preparations for the opening speech of the campaign. Knowing that this speech would be the basis of his denunciation of the peace movement and his plea for reëlection, Vance decided to make possible its wide publication by employing a shorthand reporter from the Richmond *Enquirer* to make an exact copy of the address for the newspapers.²⁷

On February 22, and before a crowd of 2,000 persons, the now-determined governor presented his views. Before launching into the body of his address, he sought to arouse the good humor of a none too friendly audience by employing one of his many apt anecdotes. After the laughter had died away, he began a speech which was a curious medley of jokes, denunciation of the secessionists, criticism of the Confederate government, condemnation of the peace movement and calls for a convention, and frequent assertions that the South would win its independence if the people supported their government.

By calling attention to the fact that secession "got you in this scrape," Vance achieved the twin purpose of a criticism of the secessionists and a warning that secession from the Confederacy would be disastrous. Turning his attention to the Richmond administration, the governor alternately praised and blamed it, but he was careful not to arouse his audience too much. On the suspension of the writ of habeas corpus, he was mild and conciliatory,²⁸ and he upheld even the conscription of the principals of substitutes, asking his hearers if they "could answer to God for the peace you have broken on this ground." In matters of less current interest, however, and especially when they could be used as a vehicle for a joke, Vance was unsparing in his criticism of the central government. He knew of no war, he declared, which had been so badly managed. "If our army had been dependent upon the directive intelligence of the General Government alone, we would have no

²⁶ Letter of January 21, 1864. *Ibid.*, III.

²⁷ O. F. Manson to Vance, January 30, 1864. *Ibid.*, III.

²⁸ "I went to ease those fellows off," Vance declared in a later speech, when he explained why he did not at Wilkesboro vigorously condemn the suspension of the writ, *Wilmington Journal*, May 5, 1864.

troops in the field." The capture of Vicksburg, he joked, was not without its bright side. Since the trans-Mississippi had been separated from the east, "the people over there are lucky, for the supply of bad generals has been cut off, and they flourish a little better on that account than we do."

The jokes he told at the expense of the Confederate government and the secessionists were merely to get his audience in a good humor. After having done that, he gave the people a quiet, sober discussion of the peace movement which advanced his fame all over the South. Firmly he argued against the proposed state convention. If one were called and it resumed the sovereignty of the State, North Carolina would be in a worse condition than ever before. Troops of both the North and the South would make war on the State, and "we would catch the devil on all sides." Nothing but evil could be expected from a convention, nor would attempts of the State to negotiate a peace meet with any better results, for the United States would offer only the most humiliating terms.

He reminded his audience again and again that they had with the greatest unanimity broken away from the Union, and that their honor compelled them to continue the struggle for independence. Although the North had won great victories recently, he did not despond. Indeed, he had "no more doubt about the establishment of the independence of the Southern Confederacy than I have of my own existence, provided we remain true to the cause we have solemnly undertaken to support." To accomplish that purpose, he begged his audience to bolster up the government and to support its measures. "I have come among you," he said, "to beg you in the name of reason, of humanity, to obey the law; to recognize order and authority; to do nothing except in the manner prescribed by the Constitution; to bear the ills you have rather than fly to evils you know not of; in short, like the town clerk of Ephesus, to implore you 'to do nothing rash.'"²⁹

Having thus fired the opening gun of his campaign for reelection, Vance decided to gratify the requests of friends and repeat his address at several places on his route back to Raleigh. Accordingly, he spoke at Statesville, Taylorsville, and

²⁹ *The Weekly Conservative* (Raleigh), April 20, 1864. This speech filled ten newspaper columns when printed in number 7 point type.

Salisbury, and thus presented his views to many hundred more voters. Arriving in Raleigh on February 25, he cleared away the work which had accumulated in his absence and then, a few days later, wrote Hale the results of his speaking tour. "So far as I could judge," he declared, "the Convention is dead, *dead*, *dead*, if our public men will only be a little bold. I spoke at Salisbury, Statesville, & Wilkesboro, with great acceptance as the preachers say."³⁰

When the shorthand report of the governor's speech was published by newspapers all over the State, a flood of congratulations poured into the executive office. Private citizens, Confederate officers and men, and newspapers of many Southern States were fulsome in their praise of the speech. "There are passages in it worthy of Patrick Henry," declared the *Richmond Dispatch*, "and which thrill the heart and make the blood burn like the notes of a clarion. . . . Truly, this Gov. Vance, soldier, statesman and orator, is one of the most extraordinary public men of the day."³¹ The newspapers of North Carolina, both Democratic and Conservative, hastened to applaud the Wilkesboro speech and to congratulate its author.³²

As Holden's newspaper had suspended publication, he made no immediate comment on Vance's address. A few days after reading it, however, he published a special issue of the *Standard* and gave a reply which was in no way surprising. Observing with pleasure the various peace meetings which had mentioned his name for the governorship, Holden announced his candidacy for that office and promised the voters to obtain an "honorable peace." The issue of the forthcoming campaign, he wrote, was between peace and war. The people could cleave to the program of "fight it out," which had been adopted by Vance, or they could follow Holden and observe the advice of Solomon, who said: "Wisdom's ways are ways of pleasantness, and all her paths are peace."³³

This announcement of Holden's candidacy considerably cleared the political atmosphere in North Carolina. For about a year the people had been uncertain as to the goal of the

³⁰ Vance to Hale, February 28, 1864. E. J. Hale Papers, III.

³¹ Quoted by the *Wilmington Journal*, March 17, 1864.

³² See the *Fayetteville Observer*, March 7, 1864; *The Daily Progress* (Raleigh), March 2, 1864; the *Wilmington Journal*, March 10, 1864.

³³ *Weekly Standard*, March 3, 1864.

peace movement; they now saw that one of its objects was to lead Holden to the governorship. Somewhat bitterly Vance commented: "The man who has been deepest in my confidence and whom my friends have persisted in apologizing for, has at length shown his purpose."³⁴ In one way, however, Holden's announcement encouraged Vance. It made it clear that the governor's old enemies, the Democrats, would not oppose him in the election of 1864. Although they were far from pleased with Vance, they much preferred him to Holden. Hence they never seriously considered placing a candidate in the field, who could have done little more than draw support from Vance and strengthen Holden.³⁵

Certain that the Democrats would vote for him rather than for the *Standard* editor, Vance paid little attention to them, and decided to devote most of his efforts towards capturing the extreme Conservatives to whom Holden appealed. Even before Holden announced his candidacy, Vance had planned his campaign along these lines. "The old union men are in a large majority," he reminded Hale, "without them we would be powerless, and I humbly conceive that the best way I can save my country will be to preserve my influence with them, and hold them up to the war notch. . . . Let them [the extreme Conservatives] abuse Jeff Davis and the Secessionists to their hearts content so they but oppose this convention movement & keep to their duty on the war question."³⁶ This determination to appeal to the prejudices of his party was reinforced by Vance's advisers. "Unless you take bold grounds upon the question of State Rights," one friend counseled, "I fear Holden will beat . . . you to the throat-catch."³⁷ Another told Vance that his supporters expected him "to be against the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act (firmly against it). And of truth, Jeff Davis is so very much disliked by a large majority of our people, that I would almost fear for much *very* favorable to his cause to be said."³⁸

After deciding upon the political strategy he would employ, Vance determined to continue his stump-speaking campaign by

³⁴ Vance to William A. Graham, March 3, 1864. William A. Graham Papers, 1860-1864.

³⁵ D. K. McRae to E. J. Hale, April 26, 1864. E. J. Hale Papers, III.

³⁶ Vance to Hale, February 11, 1864. *Ibid.*, III.

³⁷ John D. Hyman to Vance, March 19, 1864. Z. B. Vance Papers, IV.

³⁸ D. McNeill to Vance, May 10, 1864. Governor's Papers, May, 1864.

appearing before the North Carolina soldiers in the Army of Northern Virginia. Aside from stirring the imagination of the soldiers and encouraging them to greater efforts on the battlefield, these speeches promised to give the governor a large number of votes, for the convention of 1861 had granted the soldiers the right to vote. About a month after the Wilkesboro speech, Vance went to Richmond, where he discussed the political situation with Davis and persuaded the President to promote some of his friends to brigadier generals.³⁹ The governor then left for Orange Court House, and on March 26 he began his speeches, some of which were delivered to the North Carolina soldiers one brigade at a time. In addresses filled with jokes and anecdotes, he discussed the peace movement and explained his opposition to separate state action. The people of North Carolina were true to the cause of Southern independence, he said, but they considered it a right and a duty to grumble and complain at times. Vance then appealed to the soldiers to exert themselves in the coming campaign and flattered them by dealing with careers of Federal generals which they had cut short. With irrepressible humor the governor made a place for his own exploits while telling of McClellan's grief. "A man by the name of Lee opposed him in front," Vance said, "and a man by the name of Jackson—sometimes called 'Stonewall'—flanked him on the right, and a man by the name of Vance with the 26th N. C. Regiment attacked him on the left, and between them they used him clean up.—Hardly left a greasy spot."⁴⁰

As Vance moved from one North Carolina brigade to another, General J. E. B. Stuart followed him and eagerly listened to all the speeches. If oratory was to be measured by its effects, he concluded, there could be no doubt that Vance was the greatest orator that ever lived.⁴¹ General Lee was so impressed by the spirit of the North Carolina troops after the speeches, that he compared the governor's visit to a reinforcement of 50,000 men.⁴²

³⁹ Swiggett, Howard (editor), *A Rebel War Clerk's Diary at the Confederate States Capital* by J. B. Jones, II, 176.

⁴⁰ *Western Sentinel* (Winston), April 14, 1864.

⁴¹ Battle, Richard H., "Z. B. Vance." *Literary and Historical Activities in North Carolina 1900-1905*, p. 389.

⁴² Dowd, Clement, *Life of Zebulon B. Vance*, p. 125.

Returning to North Carolina early in April, Vance found that invitations to speak to the people, which had begun to arrive in January, continued to pour steadily into his office. Many of these invitations suggested that Vance and Holden speak from the same platform, but the editor announced that he did not care to add to the excitement of the people by "haranguing them for their votes."⁴³ Vance, therefore, accepted the invitations alone and covered the State in a speaking tour which left Holden all but helpless. On April 23, at the request of sixty-five magistrates of Cumberland County, he appeared at Fayetteville, where business was suspended and about 3,000 persons came to hear the governor's address. To the delight of the crowd, Vance attacked Holden and held him up to ridicule. After describing Holden's behavior the night the *Standard* office was mobbed and the editor fled to the governor's home for protection, Vance delved into the career of Holden and asserted that he had been all things to all men. The course he advocated, the governor declared, would lead to North Carolina's secession, accompanied by all the horrors of civil war. True, the State had a legal right to withdraw from the Confederacy, but it would be suicidal to exercise that right. Peace could be obtained either by winning victories on the battlefield or by negotiations conducted by the Confederate government, but not by separate state action. He approved timely and repeated negotiations for peace by the Richmond administration, but he believed the South's best chance lay in defeating Grant's army in Virginia.

Although addressed to a friendly audience which had little sympathy either for Holden or for the peace movement, the governor's speech offered the Conservatives much comfort by condemning the suspension of the writ of habeas corpus and explaining why he had said so little about it in Wilkesboro.⁴⁴

Pausing in Fayetteville only long enough to obtain a night's rest, Vance moved on to Egypt the following day, accompanied by several hundred men and women who had heard him at Fay-

⁴³ *Weekly Standard*, April 6, 1864. See also *Semi-Weekly Standard*, April 20, 1864.

⁴⁴ *The Weekly Conservative*, May 4, 1864; *Wilmington Journal*, May 5, 1864.

At about this time Jonathan Worth asked Holden to withdraw from the campaign on the ground that Vance's explanation "of his softened tone on *Habeas Corpus* in his Wilkesboro speech" had left little disagreement between Holden and the governor. Holden refused to withdraw, and Worth said privately that he would vote for Vance, although he believed that would put the "accursed Secessionists" back in power. Hamilton (editor), *The Correspondence of Jonathan Worth*, I, 307, 308, 317, 318, 321.

etteville. From this time until the day of the election, the governor roamed over the State, making stump-speeches in rapid succession and returning occasionally to Raleigh to dispose of accumulated business. On May 3 he spoke at Asheboro; three days later he appeared at Carthage; on May 7 he visited Pittsboro; and a few days later he was in Graham.⁴⁵ Since Alamance, Guilford, Randolph, and Chatham counties appeared to contain most of Holden's strength, Vance made another journey there near the middle of May and addressed a crowd of about 1,000 persons at Snow Camp.⁴⁶ Returning to Raleigh, the governor made two speeches in the capital city, and then early in June he set out for the western part of the State, making speeches almost every day from June 4 until June 22 at Greensboro, Lexington, Salisbury, Concord, Davidson College, Dallas, Lincolnton, Shelby, Rutherfordton, Hendersonville, Asheville, Marion, Morganton and Lenoir.⁴⁷ In all these speeches Vance attacked Holden with vigor and effect, and took pains to show the people what secession from the Confederacy would bring. His attractive personality, his good humor, and his sober reasoning so endeared him to the people of the mountains that numerous children during the next thirty years were christened Zebulon Vance.⁴⁸

Feeling that he had expended enough energy in the western counties, the governor hastened back to Raleigh, where he cleared away the work which had accumulated in his absence and made ready for the last speaking tour of his campaign. Beginning at Oxford on July 21, this tour carried him through a number of central and eastern counties and ended at Wilmington on August 1. Here he addressed the citizens of the seaport city in a densely packed theatre and amused the editor of the *Wilmington Journal* with "anecdotes or little snatches of merriment by which he enlivened his remarks and occasionally his audience." This speech left no doubt, declared the editor, "that Governor Vance wishes to administer the government of the State as a true Southern man, and a liberal patriot."⁴⁹

⁴⁵ *Fayetteville Observer*, May 2, 1864; *The Weekly Conservative*, May 18, 1864.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

⁴⁷ *Weekly Confederate* (Raleigh), June 8, July 6, 1864.

⁴⁸ In 1876, while canvassing the mountains in his third campaign for the governorship, Vance began one appearance by giving a five-dollar bill to each boy who was introduced as his namesake, but the lads came in such numbers that he had to reduce the present to two dollars in order to avoid bankruptcy. Battle, "Z. B. Vance." *Literary and Historical Activities in North Carolina 1900-1905*, p. 388.

⁴⁹ *Wilmington Journal*, August 4, 1864.

While Vance was carrying the campaign directly to the people and attacking his old political ally, Holden attempted to defend himself by thundering at the governor through the columns of the *Standard*. Greatly decreasing his criticism of the Richmond administration, the editor concentrated his fire upon Vance and charged that his administration was wasteful and corrupt. "The children of the people starve," Holden declared, "while your pampered officials feast and grow fat in their very midst."⁵⁰ In several issues he charged that "shade officers" were buying large supplies of food and clothing from the State at government prices.⁵¹ The *Standard* editor and his friend on the *Progress* also made the direct accusation that Vance and his associates were enriching themselves by shipping out cotton on state steamers.⁵² In his Fayetteville speech the governor replied to this charge by admitting that he had shipped five bales of cotton in order to procure supplies of sugar and coffee. But Holden refused to accept this explanation and pressed his charges with greater insistence. "Who believes it?" Holden asked, referring to Vance's statement that he had invested in sugar and coffee the gold received from five bales of cotton.⁵³ "Where is that gold, Governor?" the editor questioned, but he never received an answer.⁵⁴ In truth, Vance and his political friends were considerably embarrassed by these charges, for they had shipped out cotton in vessels owned partly by the State,⁵⁵ and it appears that they had bought supplies of food and clothing from the State at government prices.⁵⁶ As rather inadequate replies to the charges, they informed the voters that Holden himself had bought supplies from the State for his newspaper. The friends of Vance never denied that he had shipped out cotton, and they attempted to cloud the issue by telling the people that if Holden were elected governor "he would do away with the running of the blockade and leave our brave soldiers to

⁵⁰ *Weekly Standard*, July 20, 1864.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, June 22, July 6, 1864.

⁵² See Vance's Fayetteville speech, *Wilmington Journal*, May 5, 1864.

⁵³ *Weekly Standard*, June 15, 1864.

⁵⁴ *Weekly Standard*, July 20, 1864.

⁵⁵ It is certain that Vance's friends shipped thirteen bales of cotton on the "Advance" in February, 1864. (See "Freight List" for the *Advance*, February 5, 1864. Governor's Papers, February, 1864.) By September, 1864, Vance himself had shipped thirty bales and had instructed the state agent in England to "dispose of all & any more I may ship to best advantage & deposit to my order." (Vance to John White, September 21, 1864. *Ibid.*, September, 1864.)

⁵⁶ *The Weekly Conservative*, July 13, 1863.

go ragged and half naked, and their wives and little ones to starve and perish.”⁵⁷

As the governor swept through the State on his stump-speaking tour, Holden found much to criticize in his campaign tactics. He thought it little less than criminal for Vance to neglect his office and “harangue the people for their votes,” while women and children were suffering from lack of food.⁵⁸ Nor could he approve of Vance’s jokes and the vulgar expressions with which, he said, the governor’s speeches were filled. “Boys, if you want peace you must go to the heart of Pennsylvania, and there fight till hell freezes over as hard as a lightwood knot.” “Boys, you must fight till you fill hell so full of Yankees that their feet will stick out of the windows.” These sentences, Holden asserted, were found in Vance’s speeches to the North Carolina soldiers, but the governor denied using such language.⁵⁹ Later in the campaign Holden heard that Vance, at Rutherfordton, had called him an “infernal flat-footed liar.” This was one reason, Holden declared, why he could not join Vance on the speaking tour. “No decent gentleman can canvass with Gov. Vance.”⁶⁰

In attempting to wrest the governorship from Vance, Holden placed most of his hope in condemning Vance’s attitude towards the peace movement. He tried to persuade the people of North Carolina that Vance had gone over to the Confederate (Democratic) party and was in reality its candidate—not the candidate of the Conservatives. He had appointed secessionists to office and had approved of executive usurpations at Richmond, “until at length he was abandoned by the great body of those who elected him and found himself the choice for Governor of the Destructive [secessionist] leaders.”⁶¹ Vance was the war candidate, not the peace candidate. He had told the soldiers “that he wanted them to fight till h-ll froze over, and then fight upon the ice.”⁶²

Although the avowed peace candidate, Holden insisted that he did not intend to take North Carolina out of the Confederacy, nor would he make separate terms with the Northern

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, August 3, 1864.

⁵⁸ *Weekly Standard*, May 18, 1864.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, May 18, 25, 1864.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, July 13, 1864.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, May 25, 1864.

⁶² *Ibid.*, July 6, 1864.

enemy. He merely thought it would be wise for the State to have a convention to aid the central government in obtaining an "honorable peace," and at the same time "to see to it that the administrators of that government do not subvert or change its character, or trench fatally on the reserved rights of the States and the liberties of the people."⁶³ Just what would constitute an honorable peace, Holden never said, nor did he ever explain how a state convention could aid the Confederate government in obtaining peace with the United States.

Holden's purposes were so clothed with vagueness that he alarmed a large portion of the State press, and was able to obtain the support of only two newspapers besides his own. The *Raleigh Progress*, although it flirted with Vance for a few weeks and then feigned neutrality for a while,⁶⁴ finally cast its lot with Holden in April,⁶⁵ but aside from exposing some of Vance's personal blockade-running it performed little service for the *Standard* editor. The other newspaper which aided Holden was *The People's Press*, of Salem, the scanty files of which merely establish the fact that it condemned Vance as a "Destructive" and lauded Holden as the true Conservative candidate.⁶⁶ The remainder of the state press sustained the governor and attacked Holden, whom they had suspected and condemned for more than a year. With a will the Conservative newspapers of the State inquired into the record of the *Standard* editor and exposed his inconsistencies. "Why is Mr. Holden not canvassing?" asked the editor of the *Greensborough Patriot*. "Not because he is personally afraid of Gov. Vance, or of the law-loving and law-abiding people of his native State—no, neither of these answers the question. He is afraid of his own ring-streaked, striped, speckled and spotted record, and of the irresistible logic and powerful eloquence of the gifted mountain boy, Zeb. Vance."⁶⁷ The *Fayetteville Observer* concentrated its fire upon the injury Holden was doing to the Southern cause and charged that he intended to make peace by submitting to the North. "His Editorials," the *Observer* declared,

⁶³ *Ibid.*, June 1, 1864; see also issue of July 27, 1864.

⁶⁴ *The Daily Progress*, March 3, 8, 1864.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, April 18, 1864.

⁶⁶ *The People's Press*, April 21, July 28, 1864. (Filed in the archives of the North Carolina Historical Commission, Raleigh.)

⁶⁷ *Greensborough Patriot*, June 16, 1864.

"are printed in the yankee papers and in Extras and scattered by the million over the yankee States, to encourage the yankee men to volunteer, the yankee soldiers to fight, the yankee capitalists to lend their money, on the supposition that North Carolina was about to go back into the vile yankee Union."⁶⁸ If Holden expected to make peace in a manner not provided for by the constitution, the editor of the *Observer* wrote, "he must expect to do it by a base and cowardly *submission*—submission to Lincoln and his abolition hordes—submission to the loss of Liberty and of all the property of the people of the States, except possibly his own."⁶⁹

The Democratic newspapers were in a difficult position. Vance had given their candidate such a crushing defeat in 1862 that the party had slept fitfully for two years and was in no condition to be revived. Having no candidate of their own to support, they wished, nevertheless, to enter the campaign, but they found the choice between Vance and Holden an exceedingly unpleasant one. The *Western Democrat*, most uncompromising of the party press, stuck its nose in the air and refused to support either candidate.⁷⁰ The *Western Sentinel*, also, was determined to take no part in the campaign, but the fear of Holden's election drew it into Vance's orbit, and by the middle of the summer its main employment appears to have been abusing the editor of the *Standard*. "Mr. Holden is exercising his power to kill and make alive," the *Sentinel* observed, "and from the remarkable change recently taking place in the minds of the people, we think it very evident that that most remarkable individual is at this time engaged in the most patriotic achievement of his life—that is in killing himself."⁷¹ With similar reluctance, the *Wilmington Journal* entered the campaign, but in June the editor declared that he must "go for Governor Vance as a choice of evils, if for nothing else."⁷² With less reluctance and with far more vigor, the *Raleigh Confederate* cast its lot with Vance and conducted an untiring editorial assault upon Holden. Like the other Democratic newspapers, however, it clearly announced that it chose the governor as the lesser of

⁶⁸ *Fayetteville Observer*, July 25, 1864.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, July 18, 1864.

⁷⁰ *The Western Democrat* (Charlotte), May 3, August 2, 1864.

⁷¹ *Western Sentinel* (Winston), June 9, 1864; see also *ibid.*, March 17 and July 14, 1864.

⁷² *Wilmington Journal*, June 23, 1864.

two evils and that it supported him merely because he was engaged in destroying Holden.⁷³

The Democratic and Conservative newspapers did the governor a great service during the campaign, but he thought it unwise to depend upon the generosity of editors over whose policies he had no control. He determined early in the year, therefore, to establish his own political organ, which would be devoted to the single task of advancing his candidacy. After failing to persuade Hale to leave Fayetteville and establish a newspaper in Raleigh, Vance obtained the services of John D. Hyman, an attorney of Yadkinville, who promised to edit the proposed journal.⁷⁴ Several weeks elapsed before Vance's friends could advance the necessary capital, but on April 20 the first issue of the governor's personal organ—the *Conservative*—appeared. Published in daily and weekly issues, the *Conservative* was distributed over the State in ever-widening circles, until by the end of the campaign it was as ubiquitous as the *Standard*.

Following the strategy which Vance and his supporters developed soon after Holden announced his candidacy, the editor of the *Conservative* pursued a policy which was calculated to attract all the Democrats (or secessionists, as they were frequently called) and at the same time to hold a great portion of the Conservative party. One week after the newspaper was established, Hyman published the platform upon which Vance ran—an adroit appeal to both political parties:

The supremacy of the civil over military law.

A speedy repeal of the act suspending the writ of *habeas corpus*.

A quiet submission to all laws, whether good or bad, while they remain upon our statute books.

No reconstruction, or submission, but perpetual independence.

An unbroken front to the common enemy; but timely and repeated negotiations for *peace* by the proper authorities.

No separate State action through a convention; no counter revolution; no combined resistance to the government.

Opposition to despotism in every form, and the preservation of our Republican institutions in all their purity.⁷⁵

⁷³ *Weekly Confederate* (Raleigh), June 8, 1864; see also *ibid.*, May 25 and July 6, 1864.

⁷⁴ John D. Hyman to Vance, January 12, 1864. Z. B. Vance Papers, III.

⁷⁵ *The Weekly Conservative* (Raleigh), April 27, 1864.

Since the Democrats were compelled by force of circumstances to oppose Holden, Vance paid little attention to them, aside from his platform, and concentrated his efforts upon winning the bulk of the Conservative party. To accomplish this purpose, the editor of the *Conservative* told the people of the State again and again that Vance stood for peace and for the supremacy of the civil law. "Is Holden for peace?" the editor asked. "So is Gov. Vance. He is for peace *now!* . . . He prefers it—as we all prefer it—coming by regular negotiation through the Confederate government; but he will accept it in any honorable way that it can be obtained."⁷⁶ Vance was the real peace candidate, and Holden was the real war candidate, "for, as sure as there is a God in heaven, if Holden should be elected, a Convention be called, and North Carolina should secede from the Confederacy, as advocated by Mr. Holden, a *civil war* will be the result."⁷⁷ In vain, Holden protested that he did not advocate the secession of North Carolina, but Hyman insisted that the convention he proposed could have no other purpose.

In its first issue the *Conservative* informed the people that Vance was determined to uphold the supremacy of the civil law. He had opposed the suspension of the writ of habeas corpus, had attempted to obtain a prompt trial for all arrested persons, and had made repeated demands for the repeal of the "obnoxious measure."⁷⁸ If Holden had protested against the arbitrary acts of the Confederate government, Vance also had been tireless in insisting that the Richmond administration respect the rights of the State and its people. As proof of this, readers of the *Conservative* were presented with sixteen letters from Vance to the Confederate authorities, in which he indicated an unbending determination to protect his people from the severities of military law. With all the force of black-faced capitals, the *Conservative* carried home this lesson to its readers: "Gov. Vance is Determined to Sustain the Judiciary, by Requiring Obedience to Our Judges, at All Hazard and Every Cost."⁷⁹

⁷⁶ Quoted by the *Weekly Standard*, May 18, 1864. See also *The Weekly Conservative*, June 8, 1864.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, July 20, 1864.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, April 20, 1864.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, July 6, 1864.

This campaign of stealing Holden's thunder—telling the voters that Vance favored the supremacy of the civil law and was striving earnestly for peace—was carried over into the state legislature when that body met in May. In his message to the law-makers, Vance recommended that they "lay down what you would consider a fair basis of peace" and then call upon the President and the Senate "to neglect no fitting opportunity to offer such to the enemy." He made it clear, however, that he would be satisfied with nothing less than the independence of the Confederacy. In other parts of his message, Vance condemned in unequivocal language the suspension of the writ, and thus announced to the voters that he was the friend of civil liberty.⁸⁰ The legislature showed its agreement with Vance's policy by requesting the North Carolina delegation in Congress to work for the repeal of the act suspending the writ,⁸¹ and by enacting a law "to secure the benefits of the writ of habeas corpus, and to prevent citizens in civil life from being removed beyond the limits of the state."⁸² The law-makers then passed a resolution urging the Confederate authorities to negotiate for peace on the basis of independence and nationality, but the determination was expressed to continue the war until these terms were accepted.⁸³ During the same session, moreover, the legislature passed a resolution assuring the governor that he was entitled to the "confidence and thanks" of the General Assembly, and expressing its "most hearty approval and cordial sympathy" for Vance's adherence to the cause of Southern independence.⁸⁴

While the legislature was occupying itself in supporting Vance's campaign for reelection, Holden fumed ineffectually against the law-makers and called "the attention of the people to the fact that no small portion of the time of the present session is being consumed in political resolutions intended to promote the election of Gov. Vance, and break down the true Conservative party."⁸⁵ Holden was too hard pressed, however, to spend much time in making attacks. With practically the

⁸⁰ *Executive and Legislative Documents*, Adjourned Sess., 1864, Doc. No. 1, pp. 5-13, 15.

⁸¹ *N. C. House Journal*, Adjourned Sess., 1864, pp. 44, 45, 63.

⁸² *N. C. Public Laws*, Adjourned Sess., 1864, pp. 10, 11.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, pp. 20, 21.

⁸⁴ *N. C. Senate Journal*, Adjourned Sess., 1864, p. 11. Only five members, in both houses, voted against this resolution. By a less unanimous vote, Davis's administration was approved.

⁸⁵ *Weekly Standard*, June 1, 1864.

entire state press, the legislature, and a governor surrounded by able advisers pitted against him, the editor of the *Standard* was kept on the defensive throughout most of the campaign. This was especially true during the last few weeks, when the Heroes of America were discovered in North Carolina and efforts were made to implicate Holden in that treasonable organization. Vance's political organ, the *Conservative*, first exposed this society in the issue of July 6, and showed that many men had joined without realizing the treasonable aims of the organization. Numerous letters were written to the *Conservative* and to Vance, in which members of the organization asserted that they had joined without realizing its true object. Several of these letters were especially damaging to Holden's candidacy, for they declared that the members were instructed to vote for the editor, as he aided their cause and was also a member.⁸⁶ Soon after this society was exposed, however, Holden expressed utter ignorance of it. "We know nothing about this red string party," he wrote, "or any other secret political party."⁸⁷ Although Holden's membership in this organization was never proved, there is reason to believe that the members were instructed to vote for him, and the publication of this charge greatly weakened the editor.

As the date set for the election approached, it became more and more apparent that Holden's political aspirations would be crushed. But the amazing strength which Vance developed was not so obvious earlier in the campaign, and many of his friends feared he would be defeated. Former Governor Charles Manly was informed by reliable observers that Holden had an excellent chance of winning.⁸⁸ Even in July, Holden professed to believe he could defeat the governor. "The intelligence I receive continues to be of the most cheering character," he wrote to a friend. "I feel sure of a decided majority in the army. The minds of the people and soldiers are made up, and nothing will change them."⁸⁹ Although believing that Vance would win the election, the editor of the *Wilmington Journal* warned the governor's followers not to rest too much on their laurels, for "a mere preference for Governor Vance" would not elect him.

⁸⁶ Hamilton, J. G. de Roulhac, *Reconstruction in North Carolina*, pp. 64, 64n.

⁸⁷ *Weekly Standard*, July 13, 1864.

⁸⁸ Charles Manly to D. L. Swain, April 16, 1864. Swain Manuscripts, 1860-1892.

⁸⁹ Holden to C. J. Cowles, July 19, 1864. William W. Holden Papers, 1852-1889.

"Votes and not preferences carry elections. Be assured of this much:—Mr. Holden is an old campaigner. He knows how to manage the ropes and pull the wires . . . better than any man in North Carolina."⁹⁰

Vance and his advisers, however, were not altogether innocent of political guile, and as the election day neared they prepared a trick of their own. Since each candidate provided his own ballots, Vance observed an opportunity to force Holden's supporters to expose themselves when they voted. Abandoning the custom of printing ballots on white paper, Vance had all his printed upon a yellow surface, and the *Conservative* informed the people that any person who dropped a white ballot in the box voted for Holden. When Holden discovered this, just a few days before the election, he had his own ballots printed on yellow paper; but in his haste to duplicate Vance's tickets, he employed a somewhat deeper yellow than that which colored the governor's ballots. In high glee, the *Conservative* explained that there was still an appreciable difference between the two sets of ballots. "Let it be known, then, at the ballot-box," this newspaper announced, "that he who votes a *light chrome yellow* ticket, votes for Z. B. Vance—that he who votes a *deep chrome yellow* ticket votes for W. W. Holden."⁹¹

In the meantime, the soldiers went to the polls on July 28 and gave Holden his first intimation that a crushing defeat was in store for him. Late in the afternoon telegrams poured into Vance's office telling him that he had received the unanimous vote of many regiments,⁹² and in a few days it was ascertained that out of the 15,033 votes cast in the army the governor had received 13,209.⁹³ This complete defeat of Holden, which the army elections foreshadowed, was made a reality on August 4, when the citizens of the State went to the polls and increased Vance's ballots to a total vote of 57,873, while Holden received a total of only 14,432.⁹⁴ Vance, therefore, had a majority of 43,441 votes—a majority which was more than three times as large as Holden's total vote.⁹⁵ Only three counties in the State

⁹⁰ *Wilmington Journal*, August 4, 1864.

⁹¹ *The Weekly Conservative*, August 3, 1864; *Weekly Standard*, August 3, 1864.

⁹² See Governor's Papers, June-July, 1864.

⁹³ Hamilton, *Reconstruction*, p. 64.

⁹⁴ The vote of the soldiers was added to that of the civilians in the counties to make the total vote.

⁹⁵ *N. C. Senate Journal*, Sess. of 1864-65, p. 75.

returned a majority for Holden—Johnston, Randolph, and Wilkes—and the majorities were small in all of these.⁹⁶

This overwhelming victory for the governor, Holden charged, had been obtained by force and fraud. In the Raleigh hospitals, he declared, soldiers who had indicated an intention of voting for him were threatened with being returned to their regiments. Tickets intended for his use were summarily torn up by the ladies of the Raleigh Relief Association. In the army, Holden asserted, soldiers were told that unless they voted for Vance they would be placed in the hottest part of the lines.⁹⁷ Officers at home, it was charged, threatened to put in the army all detailed men who voted for Holden. In Warren, Forsyth, and Wilkes counties, the disappointed editor wrote, many of his supporters were intimidated and prevented from voting.⁹⁸

So far as these charges related to the election in the army, they were not without some foundation. Two soldiers of Heth's division, who deserted to the enemy, explained their desertion on the grounds that they were not allowed to vote for Holden.⁹⁹ General Robert D. Johnston informed Vance that he had once made up his mind "not to allow any votes to be cast for Holden in my command, but after maturely considering the matter I determined to put a good face on the matter & give a frank and cordial invitation to every man to come up and vote for whom he pleased."¹⁰⁰ Under these liberal conditions, Holden received nineteen votes from Johnston's brigade. In some parts of the army, moreover, voting was not secret, and it is probable that many of Holden's supporters thought it imprudent to cast their ballots for him.¹⁰¹ It is apparent, however, that Vance would have won an overwhelming victory, even if there had been no intimidation in the army, for Holden had the difficult task of opposing one of the most popular politicians that North Carolina has ever produced.

When the details of Vance's triumphant reelection became generally known, the fear that North Carolina might secede from the Confederacy was at last killed. The Richmond *Enquirer* was visibly relieved when it learned that the State ratified "in

⁹⁶ Connor, R. D. W. (compiler), *A Manual of North Carolina*, 1913, pp. 999, 1000.

⁹⁷ *Weekly Standard*, August 3, 1864.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, August 10, 1864.

⁹⁹ *Official Records*, Series I, Vol. XL, Pt. III, p. 598.

¹⁰⁰ Robert D. Johnston to Vance, July 28, 1864. Z. B. Vance Papers, V.

¹⁰¹ Wm. R. Cox to Vance, August 1, 1864. *Ibid.*

the fourth year of the war the decisions of her councils at the commencement."¹⁰² To an awakened Rip Van Winkle, the Richmond *Sentinel* compared the State. "Old Rip is now wide awake," it declared, "and detests Yankees and Yankee ways from the bottom of his brave and honest heart."¹⁰³ Vance also felt that his victory proved the State would remain true to the new Confederacy. "It has been supposed," he wrote to an English merchant, "that there was much disaffection in this State particularly, but the recent election contradicts it. My Competitor[,] a bold and popular demagogue[,] made the issue distinctly of peace on terms less than independence and I have beaten him worse than any man was ever beaten in North Carolina."¹⁰⁴

To former Governor Charles Manly the election was a great personal triumph for Vance and a proof that Buncombe County was rich in political talents.

"I concur with you that Vance is a character," he wrote President Swain. "His late Campaign has been conducted with great skill & ability & consummate diplomacy. The result not only a most gratifying achievement personally, but a great public triumph of patriotism & order over disloyalty, & lowbrowed treachery.

"That State of Buncombe has been prolific, as I have often had occasion to say, of not only lofty mountains, but of men of the highest Executive powers, & far reaching diplomacy. What if it shall be discovered that the Great Talleyrand was born right up there in Chunn's Cove?"¹⁰⁵

¹⁰² Quoted by the *Wilmington Journal*, August 18, 1864.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁴ Vance to Alexander Collie, August 5, 1864. Vance Letter Book, II, 219-221.

¹⁰⁵ Charles Manly to D. L. Swain, August 31, 1864. Swain Manuscripts, 1860-1892.

THE GENTRY OF ANTE-BELLUM SOUTH CAROLINA¹

By ROSSER HOWARD TAYLOR

The subject of social bases and relations is highly ramified and fugitive. Attempts to set up exclusive social categories invariably end in disappointment, for the gradations of Southern society will not admit of strict classification. Social groupings appear on broad canvas, but close examination reveals many overlappings. In South Carolina, and in other states as well, there was more crystallization of social strata below the "fall line" than above it. This is explainable in part on the ground that the cultural and material differences between the well-to-do and the poor whites were greater in the Low-Country than in the Up-Country. The economic background of the Up-Country, with its comparative isolation and its more diversified pursuits, lent itself to the development of a more democratic society. With the recession of frontier conditions, however, the Up-Country came to partake more and more of the social organization of the plantation civilization of the Coastal Plain.

For practical purposes, we may divide the white population of South Carolina into three overlapping categories: (a) the planters and the professions; (b) the middle classes composed of farmers, tradesmen, and artisans; (c) the poor whites. The second group was by far the largest; the first group was the most influential; the third least numerous and least consequential.²

As perhaps in no other state, there existed in South Carolina a conscious and militant aristocracy composed of the planting and professional classes—an aristocracy that took pride in its English heritage, its public service, its standards of conduct, and its guardianship of the social order. While the members of the legal and medical profession ranked high, it is perhaps accurate to state that with the passing of the decades, the station of planter became the *ne plus ultra* of social achievement. Gov-

¹ This article forms a chapter of the author's unpublished study of *Social and Cultural Life in Ante-Bellum South Carolina*.

² Nearly half of the white families of South Carolina owned slaves. In 1860 there were 26,701 slaveowners in the State, with an average of fifteen slaves to the owner. The average slaveholding in the Low-Country was twenty-one; in the Up-Country, eleven. Henry, H. M., *The Police Control of the Slave in South Carolina*, p. 4.

ernor B. F. Henegan in his message to the legislature in November, 1840, was gratified to know that the occupation of a planter, "always respectable among us, has risen in public estimation to a dignity not second to the learned professions."³ While the law was considered the road to political preferment in South Carolina,⁴ it frequently happened that a lawyer upon becoming wealthy turned to politics or planting or both. James H. Hammond, a rising young lawyer, practiced in Columbia from 1828 to 1831, or until his marriage, when he gave up his legal practice to become a planter at Silver Bluff on the Savannah River.⁵ Samuel Gourdin read law under Benjamin C. Yancey of Charleston and was admitted to the bar in 1820; he soon abandoned the profession to take charge of a rice plantation on the Cooper River.⁶ In like manner, John C. Calhoun gave up the practice of law for politics and planting. These examples are not cited to prove that the legal profession was not on a parity with planting. The transfer was probably made because the station of planter conferred more mental and bodily ease and gave greater opportunity for expansive and leisurely living. No persons enjoyed greater social distinction than certain members of the bar such as Hugh S. Legare, Robert Y. Hayne, Langdon Cheves, William Drayton, and William H. de Saussure.⁷ There was in the profession, however, a type of shyster lawyer who by his chicanery earned the suspicion of his fellow-citizens; but in the main the bar of the State was distinguished for talent, integrity, and learning.

A knowledge of the law was considered not only an aid to a public career but also a social asset. Daniel Wallace, in writing to his son, advised him to devote his time to reading law whether he attempted to practice or not:

Every citizen, who expects to take any position ought to know the general principles of the laws of his country. Without this he will often find himself compelled to sit and listen to conversation in which he can take no part.⁸

³ *Mountaineer* (Greenville), Dec. 4, 1840; *ibid.*, May 3, 1835.

⁴ Fraser, Charles, *Reminiscences of Charleston*, p. 69.

⁵ Hammond Diary, Feb. 6, 1841. MS. in Library of Congress.

⁶ Gourdin Memoir, p. 6. "Family Memoir of Robert Newman Gourdin." MS. in possession of Miss Isabelle de Saussure, Charleston, S. C.

⁷ Fraser, Charles, *Reminiscences*, p. 76.

⁸ Daniel Wallace to his son, Aug. 20, 1850. MS. in possession of D. H. Wallace, Greenville, S. C.

Physicians may not have earned money faster than lawyers; but it is safe to assume that they worked more steadily and therefore retired from active practice to become planters somewhat earlier than did the lawyers. It was common, however, to find a combination planter and physician in small towns and rural districts. This combination was more in evidence than the planter-lawyer combination. Dr. Samuel Cordes, who practiced medicine in the parish of St. James, Santee, from about 1813 to about 1850, also engaged in planting. It is said that "he never made much of a crop except once, when he made a fine crop of corn; whereupon, he named his plantation Egypt."⁹ Dr. John Logan, of Abbeville District, besides practicing medicine, conducted a farm on which he employed an overseer.¹⁰

Members of the medical profession might marry the daughters of planters. The farm journal of J. Porcher Gaillard contains numerous references to social calls by practicing physicians. On occasion, the physician would pay a professional visit to some member of the family and remain for dinner. Some idea of the professional standing of a young physician in Charleston may be gathered from the following excerpt from an old letter:

My little practice is sufficient to provide for daily wants, but as still a couple of months must pass before custom allows me to present my bills, I feel myself much straitened [*sic*]. I prefer town practice; here at all events people acknowledge the physician's services better than the rich folks of Spartanburg. What would Mr. M—— say if he knew that for one operation performed a couple of months ago, I am to receive by our fee bill a hundred dollars.¹¹

The avenues wide open to the sons of planters were the learned professions, the army, navy, politics, and planting. Hostility to trade seems to have been more pronounced in the first three decades of the nineteenth century than in the 'forties and 'fifties. So intensely did W. Thacher feel the stigma of trade when employed as a bookkeeper on King Street in Charleston in 1818 that he wrote,

I should think my own father an accomplished knave if he had at any time made money in the dry goods line in King Street. They are

⁹ Doar, David, *A Sketch of the Agricultural Society of St. James Santee*, p. 34.

¹⁰ Diary of Dr. John Logan for the year 1857. Other examples are cited in the *Ravenel Records* and in O'Neill and Chapman, *Annals of Newberry*. The Logan Diary is in the hands of Harry L. Watson, Greenwood, S. C.

¹¹ Dr. Christopher Oeland to his mother, Nov. 22, 1840. R. H. Smith papers. University of South Carolina Library.

all Jews and worse than Jews—Yankees, for a Yankee can Jew a Jew directly.¹²

The situation was not so bad as represented by this young man; yet so deep-seated was the prejudice against trade that most of the Charleston merchants in the early ante-bellum period came from Europe or the Eastern states. Of the twenty-one leading commercial houses of Charleston from 1795 to 1816, only one was owned or managed by a native of South Carolina.¹³ "As soon as a merchant acquired a fortune in Charleston, he invested it in land and negroes and became a planter."¹⁴ Mrs. St. Julian Ravenel corroborates the testimony of others in asserting that by 1800 the trade of the city (Charleston) was managed almost entirely by English and Scottish merchants. She assures us, however, that by 1840 native sons had returned to the mercantile business.¹⁵ Robert Newman Gourdin declares that his brother, Henry, was the first planter's son "to embark in a business on which the élite of the community looked down."¹⁶ Gourdin lived to see a change in attitude towards trade and tradesmen, for he records that when the war began in 1861 "the names of the old families of the State and City were on the signs in our streets."¹⁷ He was probably correct in his observation that had not the people of Charleston gone into trade, "the South Carolina Railroad could not have been built when it was and the commercial progress of Charleston in the thirty years preceding the late war would not have been a fact."¹⁸

Factorage was the one branch of trade which was not regarded as derogatory to social standing. A distinction was made between the receiving and exporting of produce and the buying and selling of it. Factors who received and sold produce for the planters and who purchased supplies for their patrons stood in much higher esteem than did retail merchants. The aversion for trade in general sprang from a notion universally shared by the planting and professional classes that the pursuit of gain was

¹² Thacher Diary, Oct., 1818. Diary of W. Thacher, 1817-1818. In possession of Dr. J. Rion McKissick, Columbia, S. C.

¹³ Trenholm, W. L., *Centennial Address before the Charleston Chamber of Commerce*, Feb. 11, 1844, p. 27.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 27.

¹⁵ Ravenel, Mrs. St. Julian, *Charleston, The Place and the People*, p. 387.

¹⁶ Gourdin Memoir, p. 103. Henry Gourdin entered the office of a certain Maxwell, an exporter, in 1819.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 104.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 105.

vulgar. While money was not despised, planters claimed to lay more stress on land, political power, agreeable manners and family life than on the acquisition of money.¹⁹ Jews and Yankees devoid of social position and with an itch for money-making could afford to engage in vulgar pursuits; but the proud Carolinian, like his English forbears, could not afford to compromise his family's standing by engaging in "the low and plebeian pursuit of trade." A false and costly pride this, alleged James H. Hammond, William Gregg, and others—a pride which militated against the establishment of manufactures and a diversified economy.²⁰

The limits of the South Carolina aristocracy were elastic. Like the English nobility, the aristocracy of South Carolina was strengthened from time to time by accessions from the middle classes. Successful young men sometimes entered the ranks of the aristocracy through the avenue of marriage. These accessions were not common, as it was difficult for an aristocratic family to assimilate unpromising offshoots of inferior stock. The traditional procedure was for aristocrat to marry aristocrat even though such an alliance might fall within the bounds of kinship. That the planting and professional aristocracy of South Carolina was not a close corporation, however, is attested by the fact that James Louis Petigru, the celebrated Charleston lawyer, born in comparative poverty, was able, by virtue of his talents and ambition, to marry Jane Amelia Postell, daughter of of a planter of Coosawhatchie.²¹ James McDuffie, born in obscurity, married the daughter of Colonel Richard Singleton, a wealthy planter.²² William Lucas, son of Jonathan Lucas, inventor of the rice mill, was trained in William Naylor's counting house in Charleston; notwithstanding, he married Charlotte Hume, daughter of John Hume, planter.²³ Many examples of the marriage of planters' daughters to bold and enterprising young men of the middle classes could be cited, but one other will suffice. Samuel Maverick, planter of Pendleton, started his career as a clerk with the firm of Wodsworth and Turpen in Charleston. As a result of his industry,

¹⁹ Adams, J. T., *America's Tragedy*, pp. 88-89.

²⁰ Gregg, William, *Essays on Domestic Industry*, *passim*.

²¹ Carson, J. P., *Life, Letters and Speeches of James Louis Petigru*, pp. 34-40.

²² Leiding, Harriette K., *Historic Houses of South Carolina*, p. 160.

²³ John Naylor to William Lucas, March 15, 1820. Lucas Papers. MS. in possession of Mr. Alex Lucas, McClellansville, S. C.

he was eventually admitted as a partner to the firm. Not content with a partnership, Maverick established a mercantile business of his own and amassed a fortune estimated at \$500,000. In 1802 he married Elizabeth, the youngest daughter of General Robert Anderson of Pendleton, S. C., and subsequently established his residence at Pendleton where he became one of the largest landowners in the State.²⁴

Aristocrats to the manner born and those who rose to the ranks of the aristocracy generally shared certain traits. First of all, an aristocrat was characterized by individuality, not of dress, but of bearing and manner. Dwelling, as a rule, somewhat apart from the main thoroughfares of travel, planters ruled their servants with virtually plenary authority. They were to all intents and purposes supreme arbiters and lawmakers, accustomed to command and to receive deference and obedience. Naturally such a situation tended to exalt the ego of the master and to invest him with a lordly manner. Edmund Burke, with keen insight, stated the case aptly when he wrote:

In Virginia and the Carolinas, they have a vast multitude of slaves. Where this is the case in any part of the world, those who are free are by far the most proud and jealous of their freedom. Freedom to them is not only an enjoyment, but a kind of rank and privilege—In such a people haughtiness of domination combines with a spirit of freedom, fortifies and renders it invincible.²⁵

The aristocrat developed not only a virile and lusty individuality but also an exaggerated conception of personal honor. In consequence, he was quick to resent any reflection on his veracity or the rectitude of his intentions. Indeed, gentlemen subscribed to an unwritten code of honor, which stipulated that a gentleman's word was as good as his bond. In passing on the qualifications of a young man who had applied to Governor Manning for a position, James Simmons remarked:

I know him very well. He is a graduate of the Military Academy and is an energetic, sensible, reliable young man. He comes of first rate Carolina stock and his breed is good. You can rely on him.²⁶

²⁴ *Southern Patriot*, May 13, 1852. Maverick owned lands in Alabama and Texas. He was survived by two children, Mrs. Van Wyck and Samuel Maverick, Jr., of Texas.

²⁵ Quoted in *Southern Literary Messenger*, Aug., 1857.

²⁶ James Simmons to Governor Manning, Jan. 7, 1859. *Chestnut-Manning-Müller Papers*. MS. in archives of South Carolina Historical Society, Charleston, S. C.

An infraction of the unwritten code of the gentleman usually caused the aggrieved party to invoke the *code duello* as the most satisfactory and dignified manner of settling an affair of honor.

Duelling was confined to those who claimed to be "gentlemen"; and was extenuated on the ground that it tended to preserve the amenities of life, that it was an incentive to virtue and a shield of personal honor—honor which the courts were powerless to defend.²⁷ The law, it was held, did not and could not provide an adequate remedy for the innuendo of the slanderer, covert insinuation, or the personal slight. Satisfaction in such cases could be obtained only on the field of honor in accordance with the *code duello*.²⁸ Duelling was by most people deplored. Many prominent and useful men sacrificed their lives on the field of honor. While public sentiment became increasingly hostile to duelling, the practice could not be eradicated. Repeated legislative enactments for penalizing parties to a duel contributed very little to the abatement of the evil. It was possible to evade the law by fighting in another state. If, however, the duel took place privately in Charleston, the surviving party or parties usually escaped prosecution. Jacob Schirmir mentions many duels in his Journal, but only one case of prosecution. He recounts:

Duel this morning about five o'clock back of the race course. Mr. L—— and Mr. D—— met to settle their dispute when the former was instantly killed. In October court he (D——) was indicted, but the grand jury ignored the bill.²⁹

Men who guarded their honor, but regretted the practice of duelling, found it exceedingly embarrassing to decline a challenge because the challenger reserved, and sometimes exercised, the privilege of publicly posting the challenged party as a "poltroon and a coward" for refusal to fight.³⁰

The aristocrat was noted for his benevolence. It appears that the planting aristocracy as well as the professional classes recognized a social obligation toward orphans, paupers, and

²⁷ "A Defense of Duelling," *City Gazette* (Charleston), Jan. 8, 1822.

²⁸ Consult *The Code of Honor or Rules for the Government of Principals and Seconds in Duelling*, by John Lyde Wilson.

²⁹ Journal of Jacob Schirmir, Aug. 2, 1853. MS. in archives of South Carolina Historical Society.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, Sept. 8, 1832.

the physically and mentally afflicted. At any rate, the well-to-do were generous in support of local charities. In Charleston alone, Robert Mills noted in 1826 sixteen strictly benevolent societies. The most active and renowned were the St. Andrew's Society, founded in 1729, and the South Carolina Society, founded in 1736.³¹ Mills asserted that Charleston possessed a greater number of charitable institutions in proportion to population than any other city in the United States. These societies, supported by voluntary contributions, assisted in the education of indigent and orphan children, the support of widows, and the care of the disabled. Organized charities, privately supported, were active not only in Charleston, but elsewhere in the State, as for example in Camden, Columbia, and Greenville.

Individuals frequently remembered charitable organizations in their wills and on occasion left sums of money or property in trust for the establishment of hospitals and other social welfare agencies. William Turpin of Charleston (resident of New York) left by will two hundred dollars in each case to the Fellowship Society, the Medical Society, and the Mount Zion Society.³² Since Turpin was an abolitionist, as demonstrated by his gift of \$1,500 to Benjamin Lundy and \$500 to William Lloyd Garrison, the benevolent societies of South Carolina may have received his donations with some misgivings. Miss Elizabeth Aiken left by will to the City of Charleston a lot on Meeting Street nearly opposite the Circular Church, on which there was "a two-story double tenement of wood," on the condition that the City Council establish there a suitable hospital for the reception and maintenance of foundlings within the parishes of St. Michael's and St. Philip's. The gift was accepted and provision was made for establishing the hospital.³³

Records of direct individual relief are scarce; and, without the records, one can surmise only. It is a matter of record, however, that when John C. Calhoun was in declining health and fortune, sympathetic friends in Charleston raised by subscription the sum of \$27,000 for his use. Calhoun died before he was asked to accept the money, and it was subsequently

³¹ Mills, Robert, *Statistics of South Carolina*, pp. 432-436.

³² *Last Will and Testament of William Turpin of Charleston*. Pamphlet (New York, 1835).

³³ *Ordinances of the City of Charleston, 1844*, p. 121. Ratified Aug. 22, 1843.

turned over to his widow to retire the indebtedness on the Calhoun estate.³⁴

The aristocrat was patriotic and militaristic. To many individuals, love of state was paramount to love of the union. Alfred Huger of Charleston in an address to the Constitutional Convention of 1868, said:

She [South Carolina] is my mother. I have all my life loved what she has loved and hated what she has hated; everything she had I made my own and every act of hers was my act. As I have had but one hope, to live with her, so now I have but one desire to die on her soil and be laid in her bosom. If I am wrong in everything else, I know I am right in loving South Carolina.³⁵

Such unquestioned devotion to South Carolina was doubtless one of the reasons for the promptness with which South Carolinians met every challenge to the claims of their State in her relations to the Federal Union.

Every able-bodied young man in South Carolina was expected to be enrolled in the militia or as a member of a volunteer fire company. Members of fire companies were exempt from militia duty³⁶ on the ground that volunteer service in a fire company was the equivalent of attending muster and serving at intervals as a member of the local patrol.

The presence of a military college, The Citadel, numerous muster grounds and arsenals, and the emphasis on militia duty attest the prevalence of the military spirit. William Gilmore Simms declared that "the people of the South are emphatically a military people."³⁷ The profession of arms was an honorable one, inherited from the Middle Ages when lords of the manor fared forth in full panoply to prey upon weak neighbors. Aside from an inherited and cultivated propensity for military pageantry, high official station in the militia was used as a stepping stone to political preferment. James H. Hammond desired very much to be elected brigadier-general for three reasons: "I am fond of the military, it will give me some additional influence, and it will carry me on my reviews

³⁴ Gourdin Memoir, pp. 133-135. Gourdin stated that his memory "was perfectly clear on that point."

³⁵ Snowden, Yates, *The Planters of St. John's*, p. 13.

³⁶ *Statutes at Large of South Carolina*, VI, 312. Every considerable town had its Board of Fire Masters who had charge of the fire-fighting equipment. Greenville purchased its first fire engine in 1842. Prior to that time the town relied upon hook and axe companies. *Mountaineer*, Oct. 4, 1842.

³⁷ Simms, W. G., "The Morals of Slavery," *The Pro-Slavery Argument*, pp. 244-245.

through a part of the State where I should very much like to go."³⁸

Other qualities which may be ascribed to the aristocracy are hospitality to individuals, deference for women of their own class, and warmth and charm of manner.

"What an immense difference there is in the manners of a Southern gentleman and most of those who are at the head of society in the Middle and Northern States," wrote G. W. Featherstonhaugh. "Here [in the South] the conversation was always liberal and instructive and seldom suggested by selfish speculation of what they might gain by following a certain line of conduct."³⁹ "The Carolinian of degree," wrote Gaillard Hunt, "is open-hearted, open-handed, generous, loyal, brave and affectionate."⁴⁰ At the same time, Hunt noted that the Carolinian is impulsive, improvident, intolerant, quick-tempered, and passionate."⁴¹ A somewhat more unfriendly critic, W. H. Russell, testified unreservedly as to the versatility and personal charm of Charlestonians; but he concluded that with all their pride of place and ancestry, "they are no less prostrate before the almighty dollar."⁴² Even the inimitable Mrs. Chesnut, a product of the Old South, saw clearly the faults of Southern aristocrats. With reference to Senator Chesnut's father, Mrs. Chesnut wrote: "He is charming—the man of all others I like strangers to see—a noble representative of our country." Then, turning to the other side of the picture, she continued: "Yes, you can find him. Wherever there is a looking glass, a bottle or a woman there he will be also."⁴³

It is easy to idealize the gentleman of the Old South, to clothe him with qualities which he did not possess in the highest degree. While possessing in varying degrees many or all of the virtues ascribed by contemporary observers, gentlemen acquired, partially as a result of relief from manual labor, habits which were enervating and expensive. Men of the class "quaffed their tumblers of brandy in cavalier fashion"; gambled on horse races and cock fights; lived in an honorable, though uncomfortable, state of debt; magnanimously signed

³⁸ Hammond Diary, Feb. 8, 1841.

³⁹ Featherstonhaugh, G. W., *Excursion through the Slave States*, II, 220.

⁴⁰ Hunt, Gaillard, *Life, Letters and Speeches of James Louis Petrigu* (introduction).

⁴¹ *Ibid.*

⁴² Russell, W. H., *My Diary North and South*, p. 118.

⁴³ Chesnut, Mary Boykin, *A Diary from Dixie*, p. 430.

notes for friends upon request; and devoted, in general, too much time to "the flesh pots of Egypt."⁴⁴

The majority of the people of high and low degree loved "to make holiday," to revel in the excitement of the race, the chase, the tournament, the dance, and other diversions suggestive of cavalier tastes. A minority, restrained by religious scruples, commonly abstained from forms of entertainment attended by drinking, betting, and profane swearing. All classes participated in processions, political meetings, and agricultural fairs with a show of democracy; but lack of money and of social rank forced the common people to attend the races and the tournaments as spectators or in the capacity of assistants.

The sport *par excellence* of the gentry was horse racing. The planters were great lovers of fine horses, which they bred and groomed for the turf. Practically all of the leading towns possessed jockey clubs and race tracks, and regularly advertised the races in the local papers. The racing season began in October in the Up-Country and terminated in a blaze of splendor with the February races in Charleston. Small purses, made up in part of gate receipts and entrance fees, were offered the winners in the one-, two-, and three-mile heats. The gay and noisy crowds that attended the Up-Country races shocked sober and sedate citizens, who pronounced the whole to be a demoralizing spectacle.⁴⁵ Governor B. F. Perry wrote his wife apropos of the crowd in Columbia during the races in January, 1837:

I found a much greater crowd in Columbia than when I left Charleston. But oh, the change to black legs, jockeys and cut throats. I do not think I ever witnessed a more villainous, dissipated looking set of men in my life than I now find at this hotel. It is race week and the gamblers from every part of the world seem to be in attendance.⁴⁶

The races in Charleston took place in February in the midst of the gay season, which lasted from the latter part of January until the beginning of Lent. During this season, planters, com-

⁴⁴ As to dress, gentlemen on parade wore tight-fitting pants and coats, fancy vests, stocks, and cravats. In winter cloaks, partially draped with capes, were worn for warmth. Boots and beaver hats were in good taste at outdoor assemblies. Styles in neckwear and vests changed rather rapidly.

⁴⁵ For a well-reasoned broadside against racing, consult a pamphlet entitled *Horse Racing and Christian Principles and Duty Incompatible* (Charleston, 1837), anonymous.

⁴⁶ Perry, Hext McCall, *Letters of My Father to My Mother*, p. 20. (Hereafter cited as *Letters of Gov. B. F. Perry to His Wife*.)

bining business and pleasure, brought their families to Charleston for attendance upon theatrical performances, the St. Cecilia Ball, the races, and the Jockey Club Ball ("the most splendid of the season").⁴⁷ Practically every one turned out for the races, the rabble and the gentry, mechanics and shopkeepers. The road to the race course was thronged with pedestrians, who flanked a colorful procession of the gentry in glistening carriages drawn by two or four animated horses. At the race course the grandstand was filled to capacity with fashionable ladies and courtly gentlemen in holiday mood, who eagerly discussed the merits of horses and jockeys. With reckless abandon large sums of money were placed on favorite horses entered for one or more of the various heats.⁴⁸ The crowd that pressed against the rail of the race track, caught up in the swirl and fanfare, stood on tip-toe to witness the start. Amid much badinage and jostling, the race got under way; as it proceeded and the jockeys applied the spurs to their mounts for the last great burst of speed, men shouted hoarsely and women waved frantically, until the winning horse was led off the field caressed by the owner and admired by the crowd. For three or four days the races continued; money was lost and won, horseflesh praised and damned, jockeys reproached and commended. It was a gala occasion, the leading sporting event of the year.

Throughout the State the patriotic fervor of South Carolinians found expression in Fourth of July celebrations. The manner of observing the Fourth varied somewhat in detail, but the general order of events could be forecast accurately. Ordinarily, there was a procession which featured the military companies, volunteer firemen, societies,⁴⁹ and distinguished citizens. After the procession had filed up the main street or thoroughfare to a church or outdoor platform, the Declaration of Independence was read, followed by an oration and a public dinner. When the Fourth of July was celebrated at Graham Springs, near Cokesbury, S. C., in 1847, a stand was erected, seats were prepared, and tables were spread by the managers. At eleven o'clock the company assembled, the Declaration of

⁴⁷ Fraser, Charles, *Reminiscences*, pp. 62-63.

⁴⁸ In 1843 the South Carolina Jockey Club offered a prize of \$1,000 for the four-mile heat, \$750 for the three-mile heat and \$500 for the two-mile heat. *Courier* (Charleston), Jan. 27, 1843.

⁴⁹ In the 'fifties the Sons of Temperance and the Sunday Schools frequently stamped the occasion with a religious emphasis.

Independence was read, and the presiding officer introduced the orator of the day, who spoke for about an hour "in an oration replete with glowing patriotism and fervid eloquence." After the oration the company sat down to a sumptuous dinner. The presiding officer read from the stand the regular toasts, which included as usual one to "the fair daughters of America."⁵⁰ In 1832 there were seven or eight celebrations of the Glorious Fourth in different parts of the Abbeville District, to which the voters and potential or declared candidates to public office repaired "to eat, drink, and be merry." The alibi of S. A. Townes for being absent from a Fourth of July celebration in 1833 was set forth in a letter from this gentleman to Geo. F. Townes:

There are several celebrations today in different parts of the District, but as I did not feel in the humor to make a speech, and as the exposure to the sun, whiskey and half-barbecued beef, pork, and mutton might give me the fever or the cholera, I thought it might be the safest as well as the most pleasant to stay at home and sit in the shade.⁵¹

During periods of political activity, when some representative of the State returned from the national capital after having served with distinction in the Congress, public dinners were in order. The citizens of South Carolina "delighted to honor" distinguished sons and at the same time to devour large quantities of succulent barbecued pig. Barbecue, with its pungent relish, was essentially a man's dish; hence, when a public dinner was served, the announcement that barbecue would grace the tables was alone sufficient to insure the presence of a crowd of men. In 1847 the *Edgefield Advertiser* carried the following notice, which is typical:

The citizens of this and adjoining districts are invited to attend a barbecue to be given Saturday the 27th near Edgefield C. H. to that pure patriot and distinguished orator and statesman, George McDuffie. The volunteer companies of this District, cavalry and infantry, are invited to attend in uniform.⁵²

At a political rally and barbecue staged at Ninety-Six in 1856, it was estimated that ten thousand Carolinians were pres-

⁵⁰ *Press and Banner* (Abbeville), July 21, 1847.

⁵¹ S. A. Townes to Geo. F. Townes, July 4, 1833. Townes Correspondence. In possession of Mr. Harry L. Watson, Greenwood, S. C.

⁵² *Advertiser* (Edgefield), June 17, 1844.

ent to hear addresses by Preston S. Brooks of Edgefield, Senator Robert Toombs of Georgia, and other notables. Six tables of about 200 feet in length supported ten thousand pounds of barbecued beef, pork, and mutton.⁵³

Beneficence marked the Christmas season, a time of leisure and enjoyment for everyone, including the slaves. "We are in the midst of the Christmas vacation," wrote Thomas G. Clemson to Calhoun. "The hands recommence work on Wednesday next. Considering the work to be done, four days is rather much, but Mr. Fredericks [the overseer] said it was customary to give that time and it was given."⁵⁴ On large establishments it was customary to give presents such as handkerchiefs and articles of wearing apparel to the servants. Extra rations and egg-nog⁵⁵ were also dispensed to deserving menials, who received them with becoming and profuse thanks.⁵⁶ The records of Mulberry Plantation contain this statement: "Christmas Day, gave people extra allowance of rice and molasses—also killed a beef for them."⁵⁷

On the smaller establishments Christmas was observed less ostentatiously. Occasionally there was some fretting because of the period of idleness and frivolity. While feeling splenetic, David G. Harris on December 28, 1856, opened his journal and wrote: "This is Christmas and a dull Christmas it is. I think that Christmas has almost gone out of vogue and I am glad of it—the negroes or most of them gone on a frolic and no one to do anything."⁵⁸

During the Christmas holidays, which in some quarters lasted until January 2, there was a general cessation of labor and much visiting, eating, drinking, and exchange of gifts. Concerning the tide-water in 1818, W. Thacher wrote: "Christmas and New Year's are here accounted the greatest days in the year and all seek amusement and quit business on those days."⁵⁹ Scattered families assembled under the parental roof

⁵³ *Courier*, Oct. 7, 1856.

⁵⁴ R. P. Brooks and C. S. Boucher, editors, *Calhoun Correspondence, Annual Report of the American Historical Association*, 1929, p. 158.

⁵⁵ A nourishing, palatable, somewhat exhilarating drink, compounded of beaten eggs, milk, and whiskey, and spiced with nutmeg.

⁵⁶ Gilman, Caroline, *Recollections of a Southern Matron*, p. 150 ff.

⁵⁷ Plantation Journal of John W. Milliken of Mulberry Plantation, Dec. 25, 1854. MS. in archives of Charleston Literary Society.

⁵⁸ Journal of David Galightly Harris of Spartanburg District, Dec. 28, 1856. MS. in possession of Prof. D. N. Harris, Clemson College, S. C.

⁵⁹ Thacher Diary, Jan. 1, 1818.

for the Christmas dinner, gentlemen organized hunting parties, and youths engaged in frolics.

Tournaments and gander-pullings were fairly popular equestrian pastimes. At a gander-pulling, the gander, with his neck greased and divested of all but his wing feathers, was suspended above a race track. Riders at full speed passed beneath and attempted to seize the greased neck. He who succeeded in pulling the head off the squirming gander was pronounced the victor.⁶⁰ At the tournaments, which were confined largely to the Low-Country, handsomely mounted young men impersonated medieval knights. Riding at full gallop, each knight in turn attempted to catch with outstretched lance as many rings as possible from three racks suspended above the course. The winner of the finals was privileged to crown the queen of love and beauty.⁶¹

At a tournament held at Pineville, April 23, 1851, some thirty men richly mounted and bearing the names of fictitious knights participated. All the trappings of medieval heraldry were on display. The procession of knights, headed by a bugler, closely followed by heralds, the king-at-arms, and the master-of-horse, filed into the arena to receive the applause of the spectators in the pavilion. The brilliant procession passed in review of the pavilion and the judges' stand and wheeled back to the pavilion, where the knights saluted the gallery with lowered lances. The heralds announced each knight by title as each in turn prepared to ride full-speed down the course with outstretched lance. After all participants had had six trials at the ring, the heralds appeared before the judges to hear their decision. When the victor in the tilting was apprised of his honor, he rode before his lady, lowered his lance, and crowned her "Queen of Love and Beauty." The climax of the occasion was reached in the evening, when the knights and ladies assembled for the tournament ball and banquet "where those who lost in the tilting might win in the fatal game of hearts."⁶²

Cock-fighting, somewhat in disrepute, was patronized largely by the gambling profession. In the pits the game birds,

⁶⁰ Sumter, Thomas S., *Stateburg and Its People*, p. 16.

⁶¹ Boddie, W. W., *History of Williamsburg County*, p. 307. Tournaments are now being revived in the Low-Country.

⁶² A full account of this tournament was carried by the *Charleston Mercury*, May 12, 1851.

equipped with artificial spurs, fought to the death. It was a cruel and a gory sport.

Hunting was a universal sport in ante-bellum times. Gentlemen organized hunting clubs and kept hounds, horns, and horses for deer and fox-hunting. Ducks and wild turkeys were plentiful; and, as there was no bag limit, the number taken on a single hunt was generally ample to provide turkey or duck dinners for several families. Huntsmen liked to recount their exploits and to display their trophies. The hunter who missed a shot at a deer had his shirt-tail cut off, while he who killed his first deer was smeared with the blood of the kill.

Dancing was a popular diversion with rich and poor. Classed as a worldly amusement, it came under the condemnation of the strict religious sects; but, despite the opposition of religious bodies, the dance was patronized publicly and privately in practically every community in the State. Dancing schools were conducted in Charleston, Columbia, Greenville, and other important urban centers by dancing masters who agreed to acquaint their pupils with the latest and most fashionable steps. French dances and dancing masters were highly prized and generously patronized. The plain people danced the reels and quadrilles and walked for the cake without formal instruction—and, it is said, without sin if the legs were not crossed. In fashionable circles, however, dancing was an art which only the initiated could enjoy. The different movements incident to the formal dances, some of which like the Lancers required special music, called for close attention to movement and position. A favorite dance in the 'forties and 'fifties was the cotillion. At a ball in the mountains, near the foot of Table Rock (Pumpkintown) "Cotillion followed reel and reel cotillion."⁶³ Other dances in favor were the polka, schottische, waltz, and galop. At a St. Cecilia Ball in Charleston in 1852, "sedate cotillion, erratic polka, mystic schottische, and soul-enthraling waltz had each in turn due homage paid." "The polka," commented the correspondent, "is undoubtedly a favorite dance, but the schottische threatens to oust its rival and reign supreme."⁶⁴

Public balls received extensive write-ups in the newspapers; but private balls and dances were considered too personal to

⁶³ *Mountaineer*, Sept. 15, 1848.

⁶⁴ *Courier*, Jan. 24, 1852.

be paraded in the public prints. Apropos of this attitude, Dr. John Irving wrote for *The Rambler*:

Much disappointment was expressed by many of our subscribers at not finding in our columns on Tuesday last a description of a beautiful fancy ball, a most *recherche* affair, which recently took place in the mansion of one of our distinguished fellow-citizens, and which created for many days the most marked and agreeable excitement in our circles of fashion. It is proper to explain that after preparing a detail of the magnificent spectacle—we were advised not to publish it lest we should encroach upon the privacy of private life and make that public which was got up only as a private entertainment.⁶⁵

Dances were given most frequently in the fall and winter, although summer dancing was by no means uncommon. At Pineville in St. John's Berkeley, the dancing season began in September and, as a rule, two or three dances a week were given in rotation by the families resident there.⁶⁶ In the early decades of the nineteenth century, families of social prominence in Charleston gave at least one ball a year, in addition to dinner and carpet dances.⁶⁷ Young married couples, and even elderly people, participated freely in the dances until puritanical ideals, a backwash of the frontier, consigned matrons to domestic seclusion. The invasion of Charleston by the puritanical spirit is well-attested.⁶⁸ A contributor to the *Southern Quarterly Review* noted that the puritanical spirit in Charleston not only kept matrons away from balls, but also disposed those touched by it "to the vulgar pursuit of money" to the exclusion of culture and liberality of mind and spirit.⁶⁹

Notwithstanding the rising tide of puritanism, greatly augmented by the growth of Methodism, dancing both in and out of Charleston continued to enlist the interest of young people. Robert T. Means of Charleston wrote in February, 1855:

I have heard of nothing but balls, parties, and racing for the last three weeks—that is when I am out on the street, but when I am down at the counting house, I hear and see nothing but cotton.⁷⁰

⁶⁵ *Rambler* (Charleston), Mar. 14, 1844.

⁶⁶ *Ravenel Records*, p. 108.

⁶⁷ Ravenel, Mrs. St. Julian, *Charleston*, p. 394.

⁶⁸ See Fraser, Charles, *Reminiscences*, pp. 106-108; Parrington, V. L., *Main Currents in American Thought*, II, 108-109.

⁶⁹ "American Literature and Charleston Society," *Southern Quarterly Review* (1853), VI, pp. 406-410.

⁷⁰ Robert T. Means to "Dear Mary," Feb. 14, 1855. R. H. Smith papers.

At Graniteville, when a grand ball was staged in 1851; the editor of the *Advertiser* remarked that "these merry meetings come off frequently in our flourishing village. But while girls are plenty beaux are rather scarce."⁷¹

By and large much more time was spent at work than at play. There was undoubtedly leisure for more visiting and entertaining, more indulgence in public dinners and in horse racing than at present; but withal some form of work for the up-keep of family and servants and for providing means for the enjoyment of leisure engaged the greater portion of the wakeful hours of the gentry. No planter could successfully shift the entire responsibility for the management of estates to an overseer; accordingly, the planter spent much more time in riding from field to field and from plantation to plantation than in the expensive pursuit of pleasure.

⁷¹ *Advertiser* (Edgefield), Mar. 13, 1851.

ADMIRALTY IN 1861

THE CONFEDERATE STATES DISTRICT COURT FOR THE DIVISION OF PAMLICO OF THE DISTRICT OF NORTH CAROLINA

By WILLIAM MORRISON ROBINSON, JR.

To the average lawyer the Admiralty has ever been an obscure branch of the profession. It is so today, and was so in 1861 to the newly appointed Confederate States attorney for the District of North Carolina, George V. Strong, of Goldsboro.

Into this *terra incognita*, Strong, at the outset of his official career, found himself plunged by the successful adventures of the North Carolina navy and the Confederate privateers off their rendezvous at Hatteras.¹ Shortly after receiving his appointment, which was dated June 17, 1861, the district attorney was directed to proceed to New Bern to file libels in the name of the Confederate States of America against three vessels captured by the North Carolina naval steamer *Winslow*, Lieutenant Commanding Thomas M. Crossan. Being totally uninformed of the procedure in Admiralty, Strong was much embarrassed and decided to consult George E. Badger, "who, by reason of his long and large experience at the bar, extensive learning and great ability, was supposed to know everything." Accordingly, he took the train to Raleigh, and frankly laid the problem before his friend. Badger suggested a stroll, which was prolonged all afternoon. At intervals Strong endeavored to reopen the topic of how to proceed against a prize vessel, but always Badger's conversational powers of avoidance were equal to the occasion. Finally, reaching his home, he invited his visitor to come in for tea. The latter, declining with thanks, frantically reminded Badger of the purpose of his call.

"Yes, yes, Strong, I came near forgetting what you wished; but, to tell the truth, I do not know how you will go about libelling a vessel. I have a book on Admiralty, which I have never read, and will be glad to give you.'"²

From this source, the attorney got the necessary information

¹ For the naval story, see Robinson, William M., Jr., *The Confederate Privateers*, Chap. IX.

² For this story, said to have been originally told by Judge Strong to the late United States Judge Henry Groves Connor, the author is indebted to Judge Romulus A. Nunn, of New Bern, N. C.

to face the opening of court with equanimity. On July 16, 1861, at New Bern, Judge Asa Biggs³ opened the first session of the Confederate States District Court for the Division of Pamlico of the District of North Carolina.⁴ His commission, together with his oath of office taken on June 22 before George Howard, Jr., a judge of the Superior Court of Law and Equity for the State of North Carolina, were read and spread upon the minutes. William M. Watson took oath of office as clerk, and gave bond in sum of \$2,000. Strong presented his commission as district attorney. The court ordered the adoption of twenty-one rules in cases of prize and capture and sixteen standing interrogatories to be administered to masters and other persons found on captured vessels. H. C. Jones, of New Bern, was appointed prize commissioner. The *Newbern Progress* was designated as the newspaper in which official notices were to be printed, and the Merchants Bank of New Bern as the depository—checks were to be signed by the judge and countersigned by the clerk. The next morning at ten o'clock the minutes were read and approved. Upon the motion of the district attorney, C. C. Clark was admitted to practice as an attorney, proctor, and counsellor. Twelve others were also admitted. Wesley Jones appeared and exhibited his marshal's commission. The following morning he made satisfactory bond, and the court stood completely organized and ready for business. Thereupon, the district attorney filed his much labored-over libels for the salvage of the brigantine *Hannah Balch* and for the forfeiture of the schooners *Transit* and *Herbert Manton*. The court ordered the enemy's prize crew taken on the brigantine to be turned over to the commandant of the military post as prisoners of war; and ordered the release of four other persons taken on the prizes but not in the service of the enemy nor wanted by the district attorney as witnesses. The perishable cargo of the *Herbert Manton* was ordered to be sold on July 29. The Court then adjourned to August 7, 11 A.M.

³ Biggs had been United States District Judge under an appointment of Buchanan (1858), and was given a recess appointment to the Confederate office by Davis on June 17, 1861. His selection was confirmed by the Senate on July 31, 1861.

⁴ Under United States statutes, North Carolina had been divided into three districts (Albemarle, Pamlico, and Cape Fear); but under the Confederate Judiciary Act of March 16, 1861, the State comprised a single district, divided into three divisions of the same boundaries as the former districts. Nevertheless, the word *division* was seldom used, and in the court records themselves the term *district* persisted. After the war the United States District Court was reestablished for the single district of North Carolina.

The testimony taken *in praeparatorio* showed that the *Hannah Balch* and cargo were owned, respectively, by Charles Parson and William Alexander, Confederate citizens; that while she was endeavoring to enter Savannah with a cargo of molasses, she was captured by a United States blockader; that, five days later on June 25, she was recaptured by the *Winslow*. The *Transit*, a Connecticut vessel chartered by the enemy to carry supplies to the forces at Key West, was captured on the return trip northward. A few days later on July 3, the *Herbert Manton*, of Barnstable, Massachusetts, was taken on her way up from Cuba with molasses. The sale of her cargo was postponed until August 20.

When the court reconvened in August, James E. Berry was appointed bailiff and W. C. White, crier. The marshal designated John J. Jones as his deputy. W. R. S. Bunbunk was named prize commissioner at Washington. The second day of the session, libels were filed against the brigs *William McGilvery* and *Itasca* and the schooners *Sea Witch* and *Protector* and their cargoes. Though these vessels were captured by the privateer steamer *Gordon*, Captain Thomas J. Lockwood, of Charleston, they were libelled in the name of the Confederate States. In other districts it was the practice to proceed in the name of the privateersmen; for example, in the South Carolina case of *L. M. Coxetter, Master, and the Owners and Crew of the JEFFERSON DAVIS* versus the brig *JOHN WELCH*. The name of the libellant, however, was immaterial as the court, of course, followed the Letter of Marque Act of May 6, 1861, which allowed to the privateersmen 95 per cent of the net proceeds, and 5 per cent to the government for a privateersmen's pension fund. The prize-money was divisible between the owners of the privateer and the crew, according to contract; but if no contract existed, then the law provided that the prize-money be equally divided between the owners and the ship's company, and that the latter's moiety be proportioned between the officers and men according to the schedule of shares prescribed in the prize act of 1800. The *Protector's* cargo of Cuban fruit had been immediately sold by the captors' agents. The court confirmed the sale as necessary and proper, and ordered the proceeds (\$1,032.23) to be paid to the marshal and by him into the registry of the

court for deposit in the official bank. The *Sea Witch's* cargo of fruit from Cuba, consigned to New York, was ordered to be sold on August 12. The *McGilvery's* and *Itasca's* cargoes were to be sold on the 19th, after having been advertised in the *Daily Newbern Progress*, the *Daily Wilmington Journal*, and the *Daily Richmond Examiner*. The proceeds were to be paid into the registry by September 4.

The *Transit* and the *Herbert Manton* were adjudged good prize and were ordered to be sold on August 26 after advertisement in the official paper and in one newspaper each in Richmond, Petersburg, Wilmington, Charleston, Mobile, and New Orleans. The court ordered the *Hannah Balch* and cargo to be restored to the owners upon payment of one-eighth of the appraised values as salvage money to the recaptors, the payment of the customs, court costs, and all other expenses. The vessel was appraised at \$1,000 and the cargo at \$5,961.26. Thus the salvors got \$870.16, one-half of which was paid to the state of North Carolina as owner of the capturing vessel and one-half to Lieutenant Crossan and his officers and men. The Confederate States received as customs dues \$762.43; and the district attorney and the prize commissioner each got a \$50 fee. From the *Transit's* sale, \$3,053.50 was received, of which \$1,390.23 was paid to the state of North Carolina and a similar amount was distributed to the officers and men of the *Winslow*. The proceeds from the *Herbert Manton* totalled \$31,531.05, of which Crossan and crew and the State each got moities of \$13,966.37½. The collector of the port received \$2,193.50, the district attorney \$150, the prize commissioner \$50, and other costs amounted to \$1,204.80.

On August 9 libels were filed against the schooner *Henry Nutt* and cargo, captured by the privateer *Gordon*; the schooner *Nathaniel Chase* and cargo, captured by the privateer steamer *Mariner*, Captain B. W. Berry, of Wilmington; and the bark *Glen* and cargo, taken by the private-armed schooner *Dixie*, Captain Thomas J. Moore, of Charleston. The perishable cargo of the *Nathaniel Chase* had been previously sold by the captors' agents for \$1,606.48; and the sale was now confirmed by the court. Decrees of condemnation were entered. Reserving further questions, the court adjourned to September 4 at Beaufort.

The district attorney was not the only one who found the Admiralty an uncertain field. The clerk of court took down his minutes for the July term in rough on loose sheets and for the August and September terms in a small blank book.⁵ After Judge Biggs went back to his home at Williamston, the clerk was worried about how to write up the Admiralty record; but the judge wrote him a letter of detailed instructions. He then opened a book which he had inherited from the United States Court, entitled *Records of Admiralty Cases, Pamlico District*; skipped a page from the close of the April Term 1860; and, having written CONFEDERATE STATES OF AMERICA: NORTH CAROLINA DISTRICT, proceeded to write up the record of The Brig *HANNAH BALCH*, The Schooner *TRANSIT*, and the Schooner *HERBERT MANTON* in forty-seven pages. After this feat he rested on his laurels, thereafter contenting himself with letting the cases show for themselves in the simple minutes of the court. He kept Judge Biggs's letter of instructions, dated August 24, 1861, between the leaves of the Admiralty record book, presumably intending to write up the other cases at some more convenient season. But there the letter stayed; and after the United States government was reëstablished in North Carolina, a new clerk of court, perhaps unsympathetic to the Confederate cause, stitched the Confederate pages together with red tape, thus unintentionally preserving for future historians the letter enclosed within the leaves. The United States clerk then skipped a page, and recorded the cases decided at the Fall Term, 1866.

After mastering the Admiralty technique, the Confederate clerk proceeded to enter the permanent minutes in the old *Minute Docket of the District Court of the United States for the District of Pamlico*. Following the last entry for the October Term, 1860, he skipped a page, and wrote in large letters MINUTES OF THE DISTRICT COURT OF THE CONFEDERATE STATES OF AMERICA FOR THE DISTRICT OF PAMLICO IN THE DISTRICT OF NORTH CAROLINA.⁶

⁵ These records were found (1934) by the author in the file room of the United States District Court at Raleigh, hidden under an old pile of commissioners' records on top of a cabinet. They are now in the National Archives, Washington, D. C.

⁶ The following Confederate records are in the custody of the United States District Court at New Bern: Admiralty record book, minute book (July, 1861 to May, 1862), appearance docket (Nov., 1861 to Spring Term, 1865), miscellaneous case papers, and copy-right records.

A week before the court was to convene at Beaufort, Hat-teras Inlet fell to the enemy's naval expedition. Considering Beaufort unsafe, Judge Biggs changed the time and place of the next sitting to September 18 at Goldsboro. Meanwhile, the sale of the *Glen* had been reported in the newspapers at \$3,700 and her cargo of 391 tons of anthracite coal at \$18.50 a ton.⁷ The *Henry Nutt* was recaptured by the United States forces at Hat-teras. The court met on the 18th at 5 P.M., and after appointing a new bailiff (John C. Powell) adjourned until 9 A.M. the next day. At that time, additional depositories were authorized—the Bank of North Carolina at Raleigh and its branches at Goldsboro and New Bern. Thomas W. Brown was appointed prize commissioner at Wilmington.⁸ Orders were made looking to the commencement of a large business in the sequestration of alien enemy-owned property under the act of August 30, 1861, and to the opening of the court in the Divisions of Albemarle and

⁷ *The Charleston Mercury*, Sept. 17, 1861.

⁸ E. B. Borden also served as prize commissioner at Wilmington. The seat of court for the Division of Cape Fear was removed from Wilmington to Salisbury on November 16, 1861. The first Admiralty business of this Division was heard at chambers in Rocky Mount (Judge Biggs's home, located in the Division of Albemarle) on December 24, 1862, being the instance case of *James Dears and others versus D. A. Sabiston and the Schooner VICTORIA*; and was entered in the record of Admiralty cases (old United States record book, pages 95-96). Next came the prize case of *Vernon G. Locke and others versus The Schooner HANOVER, her cargo, etc.* (pages 96-100). Locke was master of the Confederate Privateer *Retribution*, which took the *Hanover*, 113 35/95 tons burden, enemy-owned, laden with good New England mackerel, codfish, herring, haddock, pork, and flour, in the waters of the Bahamas. The libel further narrated that, "because of the danger of a recapture," part of the cargo was removed to the *Retribution* and part of it was landed on Fortune Island; that later a cargo of salt was taken on "for future use"; that on February 20, 1863, under Purser John T. Gordon, as prize master, the *Hanover* was dispatched to Wilmington; that en route she ran into a gale and bilged, the salt being ruined by the water; that she struck another gale the next day and went to pieces; and that the salvage had been sold at public auction for \$500 at an expense of \$29. The libellants prayed distribution of the remaining \$471; and the court (April 10, 1863) despite the irregularities in the disposal of the captured goods, gave the benefit of the doubt to the captors and decreed condemnation and distribution. Though the district attorney appeared for the libellants, neither he nor the clerk of the court got a fee out of the proceeds. To Prize Commissioner Borden, however, was paid a fee of \$10, to the *Wilmington Journal* an advertising bill of \$25.50, and to Henry Savage, collector of the Port of Wilmington, the sum of \$21.48 as the statutory deduction for the Privateersmen's Pension Fund. The remainder, \$408.12, was distributed half to the owner of the *Retribution* (Thomas B. Power) and half to the privateersmen in sixty-two shares, as follows:

To Vernon G. Locke, Master	12 shares
G. Hay, 1st Lieutenant	10
J. Rice, 2d Lieutenant	8
John T. Gordon, Purser	6
J. Jordan, Prize Master	6
W. W. Gray, Master-at-arms	6
John Reardon, Boatswain	4
— Johnson, Carpenter	4
Charles W. Benson, Seaman	1
James Gafney, Seaman	1
H. Makins	1
— Gilbert, Seaman	1
— Daniel, Seaman	1
— , Steward	1

The last Admiralty business on the Cape Fear record was dated July 22, 1864 (page 134). At the November term 1864, the court was concerned with four cases of harboring deserters, one of treason, one of murder, and numerous sequestration cases. In the last named group some 300 executions issued. The Admiralty record, the minute book from November, 1861, to June, 1863, case papers, and sundry loose records are now (1940) in the custody of the United States District Court at Wilmington.

Cape Fear. On the 20th, Admiralty business was resumed in the *Protector*, the *Herbert Manton*, the *Hannah Balch*, the *Itasca*, the *Nathaniel Chase*, and the *Sea Witch* cases. No new prizes were libelled. The heyday of Confederate prize-making ended for the Division of Pamlico with the surrender of the forts at Hatteras. No more could the North Carolina cruisers and Confederate privateers levy upon passing traffic. After considering the old cases the court rose to sit again at Goldsboro on November 11.

When the court reconvened an order was entered, admitting to practice the proctors of any Confederate States district court and the attorneys and counsellors of the Superior courts of law and equity in the state of North Carolina upon their taking an oath to defend and support the Constitution of the Confederate States. Then came forward Thomas Bragg, the new attorney general of the Confederate States, followed by five others to take the oath. An additional prize commissioner, E. A. Thompson, was appointed. Further consideration was given to the *Hannah Balch*, the *Protector*, the *William McGilvery*, the *Nathaniel Chase*, and the *Henry Nutt* cases. At this term, the sequestration docket began to assume an important rôle with twenty-one cases; and at the February Term, 1862, it well-nigh monopolized the court's attention with 665 cases, and at the May Term following there were 764 sequestration cases on the appearance docket. This entirely judicial mode of appropriating enemy-owned property, without the assistance of military or maritime force, quickly filled in the void caused by vanishing Admiralty business.

UNPUBLISHED LETTERS FROM NORTH CAROLINIANS TO POLK

Edited by
ELIZABETH GREGORY MCPHERSON

[Continued]

FROM WILLIAM J. CLARK²²⁹

Raleigh 14th February 1847

Dear Col.

I now have a confident expectation that I shall be able in a few days to make an arrangement of my business which will enable me to carry out a heart cherished desire which I have long entertained of joining the army and like my father and grand father testifying my devotion to my country by perilling my life in defence of her honour if not her liberties -

I write to you to solicit your influence in getting me a Captaincy in one of the new regiments now forming.

In May last I had the honour of tendering to our Governor the *first* Company that volunteered its services under the requisition then made on this State *and was accepted*. I reported myself ready No. 3 and afterwards by Whig legerdemain was cheated out of an opportunity of going to Mexico with as fine a set of fellows as ever shouldered a musket. Despairing of any opportunity to serve my country I engaged in business and made engagements which forbade my going as a Volunteer in the late requisition as I was informed that they would be in rendezvous by the 1st of January-

I have been familiar with military tactics from my youth as my Father was an officer in the last war and carefully instructed me in them at an early age. I have been in commission about six years and commanded my glorious old company of Guards nearly three years- So I think without any vanity I am as well qualified for the post I seek as almost any one. I deem it unnecessary to say any more to one who knows me as well as you do.

If the President knew how much I have been persecuted for being a Democrat he would make me a Colonel just to spite the Opposition- They have made my life bitter to me and this my native place disagreeable and I want to get away from it. But I will yet put my heel on some of them. *Mark that*. If I am appointed and authorized to recruit I can raise 100 men in six weeks and what is more than nine

²²⁹ William J. Clark was appointed captain of the United States Army, March 5, 1847, and brevetted major, August 15, 1847, for gallantry and merited conduct in several skirmishes with guerillas at Paso Ovejas, Natural Bridge, and Cerro Gordo, Mexico. On July 25, 1848, he was honorably mustered out. During the Civil War he served as colonel of the twenty-fourth regiment of North Carolina. Heitman, *Historical Register and Dictionary of the United States Army*, I, 306.

tenths of the captains in the N. C. Regiment can do, I can drill them—Exert yourself my dear friend and you will receive the lasting thanks of

Your friend and obedient servant

P. S.

I shall write to Mr. Dobbin²³⁰ and get him to call upon our delegation to recommend me and to present my offer of service. Please see him and talk over the matter.

I saw Holden²³¹ this afternoon and he uttered a perfect Jeremiad on the subject of Calhoun & Co's defection—

Write to me as soon as you can and if it is desirable I will come on to Washington immediately—

FROM ROBERT GRAY

Raleigh Feb. 22nd 1847.

My Dear Sir.

For God's sake send me out to Ireland in one of the ships laden with Provisions for the Relief of my Suffering countrymen. Send me as Supercargo, as your Agent, as your any thing, only let me be the Bearer of Glad Tidings to the Starving, and a Messenger of joy to those whom my heart for years have yearned to see, before the cold hand of Death may be laid on them and they become the victims, probably, of the awful Famine that devastates the fair Land of my Birth. I have no money— I am in other words an unfortunate Schoolmaster, Principal of the N. C. Military Academy in Raleigh, and have taught the Classics &c in the city of New York and here for the last 12 years; but Fortune, although my labors have been incessant and Severe almost beyond endurance, has not Smiled on me as yet.

God has helped me, however, with a good wife and two beautiful and healthy children, and I am in the bloom of manhood and activity, with only 30 years on my Shoulders — desiring, praying for one blessing above all others that this earth can bestow—the unspeakable comfort of going home once more. This has been my aim Since I came to America, and this boon I now implore you to grant me, for the Sake of a dear aged mother and father who are Struggling at this moment with inexorable poverty and whose hearts would be unutterably rejoiced and years lengthened by one Sight of their beloved “boy.”

²³⁰ James C. Dobbin (Jan. 17, 1814-Aug. 4, 1857) was born at Fayetteville, North Carolina; was educated at the Fayetteville Academy, William Bingham School, and the University of North Carolina; was admitted to the bar of the State in 1835; served in the House of Representatives of Congress from March 4, 1845, to March 3, 1847; was a member of the house of commons of North Carolina in 1848, 1850, and 1852, serving as speaker in 1850; was a delegate to the Democratic National Convention in 1852; and served as Secretary of the Navy from March 7, 1853, to March 6, 1857. *Biographical Directory of the American Congress, 1774-1927*, p. 912.

²³¹ William W. Holden was editor of the *North Carolina Standard*.

Do, I implore you, permit the light of heaven to shine on their sad hearts, avert the black gloom that hovers around their hopes, and make their passage easy to the melancholy grave.

I wish I could See you once in your own house at Washington. I wish you could hear me Sing one Irish Song, embodying some Simple tale of woe or joy of a son or daughter of Sweet Erin, the darling Isle of the Ocean. If I could Succeed in having one Interview with you, although my efforts might be in vain, I would at least have the satisfaction of having done all I could do, and falling in a good cause. Forgive a total Stranger for thus unceremoniously addressing you, and accept as his only apology the irresistable feelings of a throbbing heart and a full confidence in your goodness.

With the bounded Respect,

Your Humble & Devoted

Servant

P. S.

There is no gentleman in Raleigh that would not furnish you with the most Satisfactory Testimonials of my Character, Ability &c &c.

FROM HAMILTON C. JONES²³²

Charlotte N. C. February 27th 1847

Your Excellency:

Permit me to use the privilege of an old college friend to address you without ceremony in behalf of my young friend John Hoke²³³ Esquire Lincolnton He wishes to obtain the command of a company in the Army, of the United States and I pray recommend him as a gentleman well qualified for the post He is a young man of talent— a graduate of our common Alma Mater a member of the Bar of excellent standing and is of unblemished moral reputation. He is very popular in the counties around Lincolnton and can raise a company sooner than any other person I know of He tells me he has about thirty names already enrolled as volunteers who will instantly enlist in the regular service if he can get a commission He thinks he can raise a full company in two weeks and with the advantage of his family connection who are very numerous in Lincoln & Catawba I believe he

²³² H. C. Jones, as he signed himself, (1798-Sept. 10, 1868) married Eliza Henderson; graduated from the University of North Carolina in 1818; received his M.A. degree in 1821; served in the house of commons of North Carolina in 1827, 1838, 1840-1848; was a member of the constitutional convention of 1861; and served as solicitor from 1840 to 1848. For several years he was a reporter for the Supreme Court. Grant, *Alumni History*, p. 328; Battle, *History of the University*, I, 193, 237, 239, 258, 261.

²³³ John F. Hoke was appointed first lieutenant of the United States Army, March 8, 1847; was made captain, June 27, 1848; and was honorably mustered out, July 25, 1848. During the Civil War he was colonel of the twenty-third North Carolina volunteers in the Confederate Army. Heitman, *Historical Register and Dictionary of the United States Army*, I, 536.

can do it. I would not presume to ask a favor for one of my own party but Mr. Hoke and myself happen to be hopelessly asunder in politics. My own relations to him is that of an attached friend. He wishes for an opportunity to serve his country and I believe the public service would be efficiently promoted by his appointment

Very respectfully

Your devoted Serv[an]t

FROM ROMULUS M. SAUNDERS

Madrid March 6th -'47

De Los
Estrados Unidos
en
Espana.

Dear Sir,

The bearer of this note Mr. A. L. Payson has been discharging the duties of Secretary during the absence of Mr. Reynolds, for a month or two - and he has acquitted himself so entirely to my satisfaction, that I am prompted (without solicitation) to present him to your notice. He is about to return to the U. States and as he speaks, fluently the Italian French & Spanish & German languages- he should be quite an acquisition to any Minister going abroad or in any station where the languages are important- I with confidence recommend him to your favourable consideration-

With great respect

I am S-

His Excellency

J. K. Polk &c. &c. &c.

FROM KENNETH RAYNER

Raleigh No. Ca.

March 12th -1847.-

To his Excellency James K. Polk

My Dear Sir,

I hear from various sources that it is your purpose to pay a visit to your *Alma Mater* Chapel-Hill, at the next approaching annual commencement

early in June next.— I hope nothing will interpose to prevent your carrying your desires into execution.

As Raleigh will be in your most direct and convenient route, I presume you will of course pass through this place and spend a day or two in visiting and recruiting after the fatigue of the journey.

The subject of this is to tender to you the hospitalities of my house and home when in this place. I occupy the old family mansion, where the late Col. William Polk, your friend and kinsman lived and died.²³⁴ Here I learn, many of your youthful days were passed,— and around this place no doubt linger associations, that can not but be interesting to you.—

Mrs. Rayner requests to be kindly remembered to Mrs. Polk, and units with me in earnestly requesting that Mrs. Polk will favor her with her company, in case she should accompany you.—

I am with profound respect

Yours most obediently

FROM WILLIAM M. GREEN²³⁵

Chapel Mill March 22/47

My Dear Sir

Yr welcome favour of the 15th was received by last mail. I thank you in behalf of my young relative for the appointment which you have given him. As you suppose that he is now on his way to Mexico, and know not where to direct his Commission, I wrote at this hurried moment merely to inform you that he is at present in Raleigh anxiously awaiting his Commission then he may enter immediately on the recruiting service. The Company in which he volunteered to serve was incorporated with another, and thus he and one or two others left out by permission of proper authorities. He has been [in] Wilmington ever since I wrote to you last.

Please direct his Commission to my care, as soon as it can be made out.

I write in great haste to yo sir In a few days you shall hear from me on the subject of your promised visit to which we are looking forward with *much* pleasure

Yrs as ever

²³⁴ Kenneth Rayner entertained Henry Clay when he came to Raleigh in the spring of 1844. It was under an oak tree in his yard that, according to tradition, Clay wrote his famous Raleigh letter of April 17, 1844. Recently the Daughters of the American Revolution have erected a marker on the site of the Colonel William Polk place.

²³⁵ See Green to Polk, January 25, 1847.

FROM JOHN D. HAWKINS AND OTHERS²³⁶

Henderson Granville County

To his Excellency
James K. Polk
President of the U. States

No. Ca. April 17th. 1847

Dear Sir

The newspapers have announced that you have accepted invitations to visit the University of No. Ca. at next commencement to be held in that place June next. And your fellow citizens hail with delight the coming among us of the chief Magistrate of the Nation, and the more especially as you are a native of the State and a graduate of our University. Influenced by these considerations, the Citizens of Franklin, Granville and Warren have held a meeting at Henderson without distinction of parties, and appointed the undersigned a committee to receive you at Gaston which is near the border & tender to you the

²³⁶ The following resolutions were enclosed in the letter of the Committee from Granville, Franklin, and Warren counties.

"Henderson, No. Carolina

"April 17th 1847—

"The convention was called to order by John D. Hawkins and upon his motion Maj'r John S. Eaton was appointed Chairman. On motion of Isham Cheatham John D. Hawkins Jr. was appointed secretary— The meeting having been organized and its object explained; on motion, it was Resolved that a committee of three one from each of the counties of Franklin, Granville & Warren be appointed by the Chair to Report their views as to the best manner to carry out the wishes of the convention in relation to the objects of its meeting. Whereupon the chairman appointed John D. Hawkins from Franklin, Elbert Cheek from Warren & Thomas B. Bennett of Granville who retired after consultation returned & made the following report. The committee to whom was referred the subject matter for the consideration of this meeting and asked to Report their views as to the best manner to carry out the wishes of the convention in relation to the several objects of its meeting have had the same under consideration and Report: That it is with much pleasure the members of this meeting have been informed that the President of the United States, James K. Polk has accepted invitations to visit the University in June next to attend Commencement. He is a native Born Citizen of our State and was Educated at the University. No. Carolina feels proud that one of her native sons should fill the exalted Station of Chief Magistrate of this great nation. And it is with a glow of Patriotic pride many of her citizens are here assembled without distinction of party, brought, together by the influence of these Patriotic feelings to do honor to the Chief Magistrate of the Union, to extend to him the hospitalities of the State, and to provide in the most comfortable manner for his passage on to the Capital of the state, and thence to the University— It is therefore Resolved that a committee of six from each of the counties of Franklin, Granville and Warren be appointed to open a correspondence with the President, to ascertain from him at what time said Committee may have the pleasure to meet him & his suite at Gaston near the border of the State, so as to enable them to fulfill the objects & wishes of the convention here expressed. And when the same shall have been ascertained the Committee are hereby requested to repair to Gaston to meet the President & his suite, to tender to them the hospitalities of the State, and to provide way's and means for their transit to Raleigh from whence they will go to the University in a manner best suited to the wishes and convenience of himself & his suite. Resolved further that a copy of these proceedings be sent to the President of the United States and that invitations be sent by the committee to the Heads of the Department at Washington to accompany him; and that they be printed in the newspapers. The Chair then appointed the following named gentlemen to constitute the Committee: as follows. John D. Hawkins, Will I Branch, Will P Williams, Will K Martin, Thomas K Thomas & Lewis Perry from Franklin. Weldon N Edwards, George D Baskerville, Will Eaton Senr Frank Thornton, J. J. Jonson, [sic] A. A. Austin from Warren and Wesley W Young, William S McLawhan, Archibald E Henderson, Frank Hawkins, James L Littlejohn & George C Eaton from Granville—

"The Report & Resolutions were then unanimously adopted.

"On motion the Chairman & secretary were added to the Committee on arrangements.

"The convention then adjourned

"JOHN S EATON Chairman

"John D. Hawkins Jr
"Secretary"

Hospitalities of the State, and to attend you in your progress to the University. With the best feelings we approach you through the medium of this communication, and ask you to inform us at what time you will reach Gaston, that we may know when we may have the pleasure to meet you there. The Mail Train coming South leaves Gaston in the night. But the train which will receive you and your suite will not leave Gaston till next morning after breakfast suited to your pleasure and which will carry you on to Raleigh by day light. Hoping to hear from you and to be notified on your contemplated movements,

We remain most respectfully

Your fellow Citizens

Jno. D. Hawkins	
W ^m . J Branch	
W ^m . P. Williams	
W ^m . K. Martin	of Franklin
Thomas K. Thomas	
Lewis Perry	
Wiley W. Young	
Archibald E. Henderson	
W ^m . S. McClannahan	
Frank Hawkins	of Granville
George C. Eaton	
James L. Littlejohn	
Weldon N. Edwards	
George D. Baskerville	
Francis A. Thornton	
A. A. Austin	of Warren
William Eaton Senior	
J. J. Johnson	
John S. Eaton, Ch ^m .	
Jn ^o D. Hawkins Junior Sect ^y .	

FROM DAVID L. SWAIN

University of North Carolina

24^h. April 1847

To the President of the United States

Sir,

I have heard with great pleasure of your contemplated visit to this institution at our approaching Commencement. It would be un-

natural in one so newly identified with this university as myself not to regard so decided a manifestation of grateful remembrances and filial affection on this part of the most eminent of her sons with feelings of kindness as well as pride. The latter emotion however, has been awakened in my bosom on this occasion, by considerations very different from those arising from mere eminence of station.

Although we have never met on any occasion, your whole course of life from the time you entered college has been known to me with a particularity that you would scarcely have anticipated even from a native of North Carolina, nurtured upon the borders of Tennessee, five and twenty years ago the room mate in college, and in after years the familiar friends and associate of your brother Marshall. Under such circumstances, I feel that I have almost a right to consider myself an acquaintance and friend, and at all events venture to hope that in the course of a few weeks there will exist no reasonable doubt on either head.

Your stay at this place will unavoidably be brief, and it is reasonable to suppose that you will desire it (a night at least) to be quiet. To secure as great a degree of quiet and repose, as is attainable here, with our limited range of accommodation, amidst the hurry and bustle of Commencement week, I am not certain that even yourself and suite could desire more effectual means within the legitimate limits of constitutional authority than to take shelter under my roof.

I will reserve therefor until I learn your pleasure upon the subject a small chamber for the accommodations of Mrs. Polk and yourself and another opening into the same passage for the Secretary of the Navy. [*sic*].

I am with sincere respect & esteem

Your obt. Ser^t.

FROM ARCHIBALD G. CARTER²³⁷

Mocksville April 25. 1847

My Dear Sir

I have long anticipated the fond pleasure, of again seeing you, and my other old college associates, and I was highly gratified to notice in the Union that it was probable, that you and Mr. John Y Mason,

²³⁷ Archibald G. Carter was born in Caswell County and died in 1887. He received his A.B. degree from the University of North Carolina in 1820, studied law in Salisbury, and returned to Mocksville, where he became a planter. In 1832 he was a member of the General Assembly of North Carolina. Grant, *Alumni History*, p. 103.

would visit Chapel Hill at the next college commencement in June, I graduated in 1820, and after reading law in Salisbury, I retired to my farm in the beautiful valley of the upper Yadkin county of Davie N C. where I have raised a large family of children, my second born graduated at the commencement in June last, I have engaged but little in publick life; but your destiny seems to have been different, and I am highly pleased to say, that in all your political contest and trials in Tennessee & elsewhere I have always been with you, in my feelings and good wishes, and since you have been elevated to the most honorable and responsible station on earth, your true friends have with great confidence and hope watched your course, on all great matters of the day, and it should be to you a great satisfaction to know, that they have been so fully approved by the wise thinking and unpreponderance portion of the people, the toiling millions of this mighty republick, If you expect to visit Chapel Hill, I must try and overcome my domestic habits and be with you there.— Should you extend your visit to your friends and homstead in Tennessee, and should pass near this region, I would be highly pleased to see you at my home Doctor I. F. Martin, N. L. Williams and some other of your old associates reside near and we could have a social chat, about by gone days —

Truly

Your Friend,

FROM DAVID S. REID

Reidsville, N. C.,

April 26, 1847.

My Dear Sir,

I promised to write you in relation to the time of the Commencement at the University of N. C.—It takes place on the first thursday in June. Great preparations are being made for your reception, and your friends will be delighted to see you there. *You ought to be sure not to disappoint them in this respect.*

I have regained my health and I feel like quite another man since my return among my native hills.

We have given your friend Judge Douglass,²³⁸ a wife in my County and he has just left for Illinois—

²³⁸ On April 7, 1847, Stephen A. Douglas married Martha Denny Martin, daughter of Colonel Robert Martin, a wealthy planter of Rockingham County, North Carolina, *Dictionary of American Biography*, V, 399.

Please present my kindest regards to Mrs. Polk and Miss Rucker,²³⁹ and to Col. Walker & lady, & accept the same for yourself.

Your obt. servt

His Excellency, James K. Polk.

FROM ELISHA MITCHELL²⁴⁰

University of N Ca April 31st 1847.

To James K. Polk
President of the United States.

Dear Sir.

I send you a letter which may at this date have the charm of novelty in that it comes neither to ask for an office to return thanks for one conferred, nor even to solicit a reply.

I was honoured by the transmission of your two messages from under your own hand but did not think it expedient to trouble you with any acknowledgments of your kindness. A further token of remembrance on your part was introduced into a letter of Prof. Green.

When I enquired at Morganton a year ago last winter for your brother Marshall's children, that I might call and see them I was very happy to learn that you had taken his son in hand.

We are expecting you here in June. (Thursday the third is commencement day) and shall be glad to receive you in such manner as will be most agreeable to yourself - if we only knew how that would be

Respectfully yours

To President Polk.

FROM WILLIAM H. HAYWOOD, JR.

1 May 1847.

To the Prest of U. States

My Dear Sir

When your first letter (& one from Mr Mason) reached here I was not at home but immediately after my return I wrote to Mr. Green

²³⁹ Miss Rucker was a niece of Mrs. Polk. Quaife, editor, *Diary of Polk*, III, 3.

²⁴⁰ Papers of Polk, first series.

In January, 1818, Elisha Mitchell moved from Connecticut to Chapel Hill, where he spent the remaining thirty-nine years of his life as professor. When Polk returned to the University after twenty-nine years of absence, Mitchell was the only professor of those who had taught him who still remained. Quaife, *Diary of Polk*, III, 45; *Dictionary of American Biography*, XIII, 45.

that I was ready to assist him in the matter referred to & at the same time I wrote three lines to Mr Mason to let him know (& of course to tell you) that as soon as matters were arranged you should be informed of it. I have to day rec'd your last letter and as Mr Swain expects to be here in a day or two the information it contains will be very serviceable to the college [*sic.*] Committee as a basis for their schemes &c. I think you act wisely in leaving W. City on Friday as that is the latest day when an accident to a Rail Road Car might not disappoint both you & the College [*sic.*] I do not know what may be the notions of the committee of Warren &c but I should myself feel quite humiliated if the President of the U States is not conveyed on our Rail Road in *the day time* and presuming this is to be the case you will reach Gaston Friday night, and get to Raleigh Saturday afternoon. This arrangement is a very good one if it suits you & your public duties in lieu of a weeks absence from the City of W.n.

I will suggest to Mr Swain the propriety of sending to you or to Mr Mason for your use a full statement of particulars The time you are to leave here & reach C Hill. The speeches you will be expected to respond to &c both at C. Hill & elsewhere— the duties & recreations of each day at University. That will put you in full possession of the subject and render your visit I hope precisely such as you would have it to be. I am duly sensible of the honour you do me by your request that I should join you with my family at this place & I regret that it will not be in my power to do so .. My daughters are not at home and do not expect to be here again earlier than the 15th June— They are upon a visit to their Grand Mother and my business engagements will probably put it out of my power to go to the University at commencement at all without a great sacrifice.— Indeed I apprehend that I may be in the lower part of the State about the 1st of June, and the unhealthfulness of that region would deter a prudent man whose life is valuable to his family against postponing visits to it beyond the middle of June. I am sure however that this cannot diminish the comfort of your traveling or the pleasure of your trip as experience will convince you that *room* is much more desirable than *company* at our University on such an occasion—

As soon as Mr Swain has completed his scheme for the exercises introducing therein the arrangements of the “fellows” for showing respect to the President I will write to you again and no great delay can occur as I shall be at home for a fortnight unless some unlooked for event draws me away from & then I will take care to apprise you of it.

I suppose the Presidents arrival at C Hill as early as Monday will be desirable as Monday night (under the new regimè) is the time for the Farewell sermon to be delivered & as it is to me after the lapse of so many years so I presume will be to you a most interesting occasion & to which *your* presence would add great interest & novelty. —

One day must necessarily be given up to "re-union" – for social intercourse & *presentations to the Prest of the U. S.* – Another to the *Orators* – leaving Thursday for Commencement– Wherefore you will perceive that in expressing my concurrence in the time scheduled for your arrival there, I do not act in mere courtesy to a conclusion already formed. Besides upon the plan of your proposed movements should business or accident delay you a day it will not disappoint either you or the University as the loss may be recovered by traveling on Sunday– quietly and retired from a crowd along the Rail Road. Even that sort of Sunday travelling may be avoided however if nothing occurs to prevent you from leaving W City on Friday & no accident stops you on the way–

The "Fellow" will no doubt do their part– I only regret that they have not arranged it for you to *eat* at Mrs. Pucketts old house and to provide you with one of those delicious puddings that in olden times the good little woman manufactured from *soaked biscuits!* Perhaps it is as well however not to bring back too lively a recollection of "Bets Puss"²⁴¹ whom I suppose you remember though it has been more than a "quarter of a century" ago she used to be a belle of the village– As Mr Mason is a Philo and Nancy Hillyard is of that clique and the only village belle left you ought to require him to escort her on reception day by all means–²⁴² Do you recollect her note to the Librarian asking for "The Hungry Brothers" Poor Nancy she little dreamed at that time that her destiny would be to *feed* the Colledge [*sic*] all her days. "November" – The Negro of Dr Caldwell who was so famous for his chicken suppers is the only remnant of his race. "November" No doubt he will be ready to serve a supper to you & Mr Mason for the old price, and I can have no better wish to make than that your 2 appetites may be as good for it as they used to be–Not a stump– not a tree will you pass there that does not tell you of some buried friend–Some broken chord–some vanished dream: and unless one's being a President makes a difference your visit will be full of painful yet pleasant sadness– You return to your alma mater a greater man–May you leave it a better one.– I am not your preacher however so must not moralize. I will be thankful to Mr Mason if he will receive this as a letter to him as well as to you and in a few more days I may have it in my power to report conclusions– I am very sincerely & c

Raleigh, N. C.

²⁴¹ One Sunday afternoon Betsy Puckett was accompanied to Mount Carmel, four miles from Chapel Hill, by Simon Jordan, a tutor at the University and William Anthony, a student. The latter alleged that the former had insulted him repeatedly on this occasion. Anthony withdrew from the University of North Carolina, armed himself with "three pistols, a dirk, and a club," and attacked Jordan. But they were separated "without damage." Battle, *History of the University*, I, 263.

²⁴² Nancy Hilliard "erected a splendid addition to her hotel" for the accommodation of the President and other visitors for commencement of 1847. Battle, *History of the University*, I, 505.

FROM JOEL B. BATTLE²⁴³University of N. C. May 5th 1847

His Excellency J. K. Polk President of U. S.

Sir

I am commissioned as presiding officer of the Dialectic Society, to address you a few lines on the subject of the Portrait heretofore ordered for the Society.²⁴⁴

Having learned through the medium of a letter received by the Philanthropic Society from Judge Mason,—²⁴⁵ which gave minute details concerning the description, price, &c, of several varieties of Portraits—; that you were rather in doubt both as to the kind and quality desired, a motion as made at the first meeting of the Society thereafter, the object of which, was to ascertain the sense of the house, in regard to the relative suitableness of those described in the letter. Upon consideration it was almost unanimously agreed that the Kit-Cat by Sully (at \$300), was altogether the most appropriate, as according better in size, appearance, &c, with those which we already possess, and also as being least objectionable on the sense of price.²⁴⁶

Allow me Sir in the name of the Society of which I have the honour to be President, to tender you, in your contemplated revisit after a lapse of so many years to the Classic Shades, a sincere and cordial welcome, to your, and our common Alma Mater. And believe me to remain with respect.

(By order of the Society)

Yr. Obt. St. J. D. Battle (Pres)

FROM HUGH WADDELL

Oxford (N.C). May 5. 1847.

My dear Sir

Permit me to present to yr kind consideration, Mr. George Wortham,²⁴⁷ a son of an old College friend, from the County of Granville whom you may perhaps remember— He is desirous of entering the

²⁴³ Joel D. Battle was born in Chapel Hill, March 12, 1828, and died November 22, 1858. He received an A.B. degree in 1847 and an M.A. degree in 1852 from the University of North Carolina, and later an M.D. degree from the University of Pennsylvania. Grant, *Alumni History*, p. 39.

²⁴⁴ On May 20, 1847, Thomas Sully commenced the portrait of Polk for the Dialectic Society. For one and one-half hours Polk posed for Sully in the "red parlour above Stairs in the President's House." Quaife, editor, *Diary of Polk*, III, 32.

²⁴⁵ In the red parlor of the White House John Mason on May 20, 1847, posed for Sully to paint his portrait for the Philanthropic Society. Quaife, editor, *Diary of Polk*, III, 32.

²⁴⁶ See Charles E. Shober and others to Polk, February 7, 1847.

²⁴⁷ George W. Wortham was born in Oxford in 1828 and died in 1883. He was a student at the University of North Carolina from 1841 to 1843. During the Civil War he was colonel of the fiftieth regiment of North Carolina in the Confederate Army. Grant, *Alumni History*, p. 696; Battle, *History of the University*, I, 800.

service & will himself indicate the position which he would prefer if attainable; in one of the Regiments about to be raised for Mexico.

Should it consist with the interests of the service to confer upon him the place he solicits, I doubt not he will justify by his conduct the confidence reposed in him by your Excellency & fully meet the expectations of his friends. - His father Dr. James L. Wortham²⁴⁸ is one of the worthiest sons of our Alma Mater & greatly esteemed by all who have the pleasure to know him-

I may be permitted to say, in referring to our alma mater, that your anticipated visit, has given to the annual exercises a degree of interest for the year 1847, which has never attached to them before & unless my present purposes are frustrated by some unfor[e]seen accident I shall be happy, after more than a quarter of a century's absence, to meet you on ground consecrated by a thousand recollections of our early friendship & to assure you in person how very much & truly I am

Yr. friend & servant

His Excellency
The Prest. of U. S. America

FROM WILLIAM DALLAS HAYWOOD²⁴⁹

Raleigh N. C. May 8^h. 1847.

His Excellency James K. Polk

Sir

I have the honor to transmit to you the enclosed proceedings of a large and highly respectable meeting of the citizens of Raleigh and Wake County held this day in the Town Hall.

²⁴⁸ James L. Wortham of Granville County was a student at the University of North Carolina in 1814. Grant, *Alumni History*, p. 696.

²⁴⁹ William Dallas Haywood enclosed the following proceedings of the meeting held in Raleigh for the purpose of welcoming Polk:

"In the pursuance of the notice of the Intendant of the city a very large & respectable meeting of the citizens of Raleigh & the County of Wake assembled at the City Hall on Saturday the 8th. Inst. for the purpose of making arrangements for a proper reception of the President of the United States on the occasion of his intended visit to this state in the month of June next -

"On motion of Col. John H. Manly, Wm Dallas Haywood Esqr. Intendant of the City was called to the chair & James F. Jordan Esq. was appointed Secretary-

"The Chairman having in a short and appropriate manner addressed the meeting explanatory of its objects- on motion of Perrin Busbee Esqr. a committee of five were appointed to report resolutions for the action of this meeting. whereupon the following persons were appointed by the Chair- Perrin Busbee, Weston R. Gales, Wm. R. Poole. Col. John H. Manly & Francis T. Marriott Esqr.

"The committee retired and after a short conference reported through Wm. R. Poole Esqr. the following Resolutions-

"The citizens of Raleigh and the County of Wake have been much gratified to learn that the President of the United States contemplates a visit to the University of the State at its ensuing commencement in June- and that he will pass through Raleigh on his way to that place - and being without distinction of party, desirous of extending to him the honors and regards due to the exalted station of Chief Magistrate of the Union - and of tendering to him a hearty welcome to the hospitalities of his native State - therefore

"Resolved- that a Committee of 50 be appointed by the chairman on behalf of the City of Raleigh & Wake County whose duty it shall be, together with the committee heretofore

It affords me great pleasure to be the organ of communicating to your excellency this expression of respect from so large a portion of our citizens.

I have the honor to be

Most respectfully

your obt. servt.

Chairman of the meeting

FROM WILLIAM H. HAYWOOD, JR.

8 May 1847.

To the President of the U. S.

Dear Sir

The plans for your visit to the N. C. University are settled and will be more formally communicated to you in a few days ex cathedra. In the mean while I write to say that the following is the substance as I understand it

Saturday afternoon.²⁵⁰

appointed on behalf of the City commissioners to make suitable preparations for the reception of the President and of those who may accompany him— on his arrival in this City — under the foregoing resolution the following persons were appointed a committee on behalf of the City and County —

“Dr. Josiah O. Watson. Hon. Wm. H. Haywood— Hon John H. Bryan. Hon. James Iredell. Wm. Hill Esq. Perrin Busbee— Duncan K. McRae. Geo W. Mordecai. E. B. Freeman. James B. Shepard. Charles Manly— Wm. White, Albert Stith. Joseph De Roulhac. H. W. Husted. H. W. Miller. R. B. Haywood. George Little Wm. R. Poole. Alfred Jones. Ben S. Smith. E. P. Guion Wesley Jones. James D. Newsome. John H. Manly. Weston R. Gales. George W. Thompson. James T. Marriott. Matthew Shaw. James F. Jordan. Edward Yarborough. Willie Pope. Willis Whitaker Charles E. Johnson. William H. McKee. Wm. H. Jones. William G. Hill. Wm. R. Scott. Simon Smith— Jesse Brown. James S. Watton. William C. Tucker. Jordan Womble. P. B. Burt. Kimbrough Jones. Sion Rogers Jr. Henry D. Turner. John M. Fleming. Joseph Cooke. Samuel P. Norris Esquires—committee on the part of the commissioners of the city— Wm. Dallas Haywood Esq. Intendant & Wm. W. Holden. George W. Haywood. S. W. Whiting and John Hutchins Esquires—

“Resolved that the proceedings of this meeting be published in the city papers and a copy thereof transmitted to the President — On Motion of Weston R. Gales Esq. the meeting adjourned—

“WM. DALLAS HAYWOOD —Intendant
“Chairman

“James F. Jordan Esq.

“Secretary—”

²⁵⁰ At four o'clock on the morning of May 29, 1847, Polk arrived at Gaston, where he was met by Colonel John D. Hawkins, who welcomed him to North Carolina. Polk made a brief reply. At intervals of every few miles he was greeted by crowds of people who had assembled to see him. At most of the stations between Gaston and Raleigh he alighted from the train and shook hands with as many people as time would permit. At Henderson, where he dined, there were probably forty or fifty carriages full of people to greet him. At Franklinton “Mr. McCrea” accompanied by Hon. John H. Bryan were ready to welcome Polk. When he arrived in Raleigh at five-thirty, William Dallas Haywood met him with a military band. When he arrived at the Yarborough Hotel. Professor William M. Green and a committee of students were there to greet him. About eight o'clock he was conducted to the Capitol where he met a crowd of people in the Senate Chamber. From there he was escorted to the balcony to see a display of fire works. Quaife, editor, *Diary of Polk*, III, 39-42.

Proff: Green (Wm M) with a Committee of 4 Fellows meet you at the Raleigh Depot – speak & hear a reply and then march you to your lodging at the Hotel – from which hours you are exclusively in the possession of the Fellows:

Sunday: This is your own day – to do as you choose.²⁵¹

Monday²⁵²

At an early hour the Fellows take you to C. Hill in conveyances which they will have ready in this city.–The journey is 28 Miles – stop twice to rest on the road once at Moring's 8 miles this side of C. Hill. Reach University about 2 or 3 P.M

Address from the Prest of the Colledge – [sic] Your reply! You will be conducted after this to your lodging at *Nancy Hilliards Hotel!* both you & your suite are to be there together.

To Monday night

Colledge [sic] exercises of some sort as heretofore or it may be the Bishop's sermon–

Tuesday²⁵³

Colledge [sic] exercises of different kind, after the old way

At night Sermon from Bishop Ives if not spoken Monday:

Wednesday²⁵⁴

A reception day at some place to be fixed on where the Prest may receive his fellow citizens until 11-12 –At that hour

²⁵¹ On Sunday morning Polk and his wife attended the Episcopal church and the Presbyterian church in the afternoon. Governor Graham refrained from calling on Polk until Sunday evening. Polk recorded in his diary "I received Gov. Graham courteously, but with more dignified reserve than is my habit. He remained near an hour. I have no doubt from what I have learned that Gov. Graham & Senator Badger had by consent determined not to call on me, & that the latter was forced to yield that determination by the overwhelming fear of public opinion among the leading members of his own party. It was a matter of perfect indifference to me whether he called or not. Senator Badger did not call. During the whole of the last session of Congress he did not call on me. He is a bitter partisan, and is no doubt sensible that during the Presidential canvass of 1844 he did me gross injustice. Among other things he took a leading part in propagating the basely false story concerning the Revolutionary services of my Grand-father, Ezekiel Polk. His own consciousness that he wronged me probably prevented him from calling on me last winter or on my present visit to N. Carolina." Quaife, editor, *Diary of Polk*, III, 42-44

²⁵² At nine o'clock on May 31, 1847, Polk, accompanied by William M. Green and a student delegation began their trip to Chapel Hill. In the President's party were Mrs. Polk, Miss Rucker, Col. Walker, Judge Mason, his son John, Jr., his daughter, Betty, and Lieutenant Maury. Polk recorded in his diary: "I was also accompanied by Gov. Branch, Col. Hawkins, and several other, ladies & gentlemen, making quite a long train of carriages. We stopped half an hour at Mrs. Jones's, 10 miles on the way, where we were overtaken by Ex Gov. Morehead, Gov. Graham, & others. I stopped at Moring's 8 miles from Chapel Hill, & took dinner. Gov. Graham, Gov. Morehead, & some others did not stop for dinner but proceeded on to Chapel Hill in advance of me. At about 6 O'Clock P.M. I reached the village of Chapel Hill. On approaching the Hotel at which quarters had been provided for me, I was received by a procession composed of the faculty & students of the college & citizens . . . and after remaining there for a few minutes was conducted on foot to the college Chapel, where a large assemblage of ladies & Gentlemen were collected." During the evening he attended chapel and heard a sermon by Bishop Ives. He also records that he was kept up until a late hour reminiscing with old college friends. Quaife, editor, *Diary of Polk*, III, 37, 44, 45.

²⁵³ On Tuesday he visited the college buildings and attended the formal programs. Quaife, editor, *Diary of Polk*, III, 46.

²⁵⁴ On Wednesday he attended chapel and a meeting of the alumni association. At two o'clock he and his suite dined with President Swain. After dinner he and Mrs. Polk visited William Green's home. "During the day, too" he wrote in his diary, "Mrs. Polk accompanied me through the college buildings, the library rooms, and especially the room which I had occupied when I was in college. She was much interested, and especially in viewing the Dialectic Hall and my old room." Quaife, editor, *Diary of Polk*, III, 47.

The *Annual netia* – After it reception of our selves continued at your pleasure–

At night Speech by the Orator of *Alumni!* And an Illumination Fire works &c. &c.

Thursday.²⁵⁵

Commencement Day –Degrees. Senior speeches &c. after the old way at C.Hill–

Friday– Carriage all ready at the door for your journey back again–²⁵⁶

The speech to be made to you *here* & at *C. Hill* will be forwarded as soon as I get them in order that you may be ready &c–

Very respy.

Ask Judge Mason to receive this as a joint letter for I am sick to day & not comfortable whilst writing letters. My sickness is temporary & briefly but it makes me unfit for the labour of writing –

FROM HUGH WADDELL²⁵⁷

Hillsboro May 22. 1847.

My dear Sir

I feel assured before you shall have concluded the perusal of these hasty lines, that you will credit me, when I declare I was never more painfully embarrassed than while engaged in penning them.

You may remember that I once had the honor of addressing you on the subject of an appointment for my eldest brother Col. Haynes Waddell & that although you then expressed a willingness to comply with my wishes whenever such a place as he desired & was qualified for should become vacant. yet that since that time no further correspondence on this subject has occurred between us.– Now to relieve

²⁵⁵ Thursday was commencement day. In addition to delivering the principal address, he received several hundred people. He modestly recorded in his diary that: "The crowd in waiting to see me was so great that it was impossible that they could see me if I remained in the House. Several of my friends who thought the people present, many of whom came a considerable distance, ought to be gratified, insisted that I should go out in the grove & I did so. I was soon surrounded by hundreds of persons, and for an hour or more was constantly engaged in shaking hands with them." Quaife, editor, *Diary of Polk*. III, 48.

²⁵⁶ In order to reach Washington on Saturday evening, it was necessary for him to leave Chapel Hill at six o'clock on Thursday. His party proceeded as far as Morings and waited until two o'clock in the morning to proceed to Raleigh. After taking breakfast at Mrs. Jones's, the party reached Raleigh at half past nine. Being unable to leave Raleigh until noon he recorded in his diary, "Col. Hawkins, Mrs. Polk, Col. Walker (my Private Secretary) and myself, at the special request of Col. Hawkins, visited the house of the Hon. K. Raynor, whose wife is the daughter of the late Col. Wm. Polk, and whose health was not such as to enable her to call on us. Mr. Raynor had called on Saturday evening & made this apology for her. Mr. Raynor is a bitter political opponent, but had acted exceedingly well on the occasion of my visit to N. Carolina. Before I left Washington he had invited me to make his house my home, and as soon as I arrived on Saturday evening he had called. While we were at Mr. Raynor's the Hon. Wm. H. Haywood, jr., late Senator in Congress, called." Quaife, editor, *Diary of Polk*. III, 49-50.

²⁵⁷ See letters from Waddell to Polk. October 17, December 10, and 31, 1846.

you *at once* I beg to assure you that nothing is further from my mind, than to *renew* this application & as you will presently see I only now allude to it, that I may disabuse you of any & all improper impressions on the matter of that application.— Soon after the correspondence above alluded to, I saw the announcement of many appointments & took it for granted that others having higher claims were selected & indeed as the first letter was written at the consent & request of that brother & his friends, personal & *political* & I could not urge myself, any claims of the latter Kind; I concluded like many, under similar circumstances that there were too many such applications to hope for a favourable answer & therefore gave it up without any diminution of the real esteem in which I had always held you. Nor should the subject have occupied my mind, again, but for a conversation which I recently held with a friend, from whom I heard that the reason why no further steps had been taken in the matter, was, that your Excellency *upon inquiring* had become satisfied that the person for whom the application was made, was wholly *unworthy* & (that touched me more than every thing else,) that you were *hurt* that *I* should have recommended to you one thus unworthy especially as he was my brother.— I was not informed whether by expression, “you were *hurt*” had reference to any personal displeasure *or regret* that you felt at being (under the circumstances,) unable to oblige an old acquaintance, or to official displeasure that *I who* ought to have been more regardful than a stranger, should have been guilty of disengenouness, as to have asked it— Now I must acknowledge that I was scarcely ever more hurt & indeed more deeply mortified than at this intelligence.— I suspect the person or rather persons from whom this information was rec^d. & if I am right, no more malignant enemies of my family, could have been found in the United States. & I venture to say that if they or either were called on for the evidence they would have been unable to produce it, beyond what I will now proceed to state. viz: what when my brother lived in Wilmington & the neighborhood, he, with most of the men of his rank, played freely at cards & that he perhaps was remarkable even among them for his passion for play, but I have never learned that he was charged or suspected of any thing dishonorable.— But it is due to truth & to our respective positions that I should add, that for 25 years I have lived in the middle of the state, while the brother mentioned, resided, for several years of this time in & about Wilmington & then removed to Louisiana, so that I have had little or no opportunity of acquiring by observation any particular knowledge of his habits or character & it is very certain a *brother* would be the last person to whom strangers would communicate so unpleasant things as the loss of character of one occupying that relation to him— So that unless it were *notorious*, such a brother would not be apt to know it.— Since having this most painful circumstance

I have been at some pains to acquire information in reference to this subject & find but one answer, "that he was fond of playing formerly, but no one has ventured to charge him with dishonor— Now as I stated in the beginning of this rapidly written letter neither that brother, nor I, have the smallest idea of our again presenting his claims for any place & this is only written in justification of myself And I now assure you, upon *the honor* which 30 years since made you my friend which I can safely leave to every man of character in North Carolina to vouch for, that if such *unworthiness* did exist I was unconscious of it & would sooner have seen that brother perish of want in the High- way, than I would have asked of the Pres^t. a place, Knowing him to be a dishonourable man.— Excuse the apparent heat of these expressions— I fear I may have forgotten that I was addressing "His Excellency the Pres^t. of the U. S." & not my old cherished Classmate — I know you will excuse the warmth of language if you will but remember that it was characteristic 30 years ago. — It remains only for me to say that *no particle* of dissatisfaction at y^r. course has a place in my memory: you could *not* indeed have acted otherwise under the circumstances.— However much & widely we may have differed upon Political subjects, I will take leave to say, (though it must be a matter of the very least consequence to you, what an obscure man like myself may think on subjects above his grasp) Yet *I* have always continued to cherish for you *personally* the highest respect & most unfeigned regard

Fearing that circumstances over which I have no controul may deny me the pleasure of meeting you at Chapel Hill, I am very much and truly y^r. friend & servant

FROM EDWARD J. MALLETT²⁵⁸

New York May 29/47

To the President

My dear Sir

I did not receive your letter until this morning; & not hearing from you at an earlier period; I concluded, either that you were undetermined on the excursion, or that your proposed visit to the old *classic Halls* was mere newspaper rumour—²⁵⁹ It is now too late for me to reach you in season — I envy you the joyous recollections which will return to you like old and long absent friends — when you again tread

²⁵⁸ For a sketch of Edward J. Mallett see *North Carolina Historical Review*, XVI (1939), 196.

²⁵⁹ An account of Polk's visit to Raleigh and Chapel Hill appeared in the *North Carolina Standard* (Raleigh), June 2 and 9, 1847. With the President's party there was a correspondent of the *New York Herald*. It was the first time that a reporter for a Northern paper had ever reported a commencement at the University of North Carolina. Battle, *History of the University*, I, 509.

the paths which received the footprints of your youth— Present me kindly to Green— Waddell— Bailey “et id omne genus” and when you are looking for the last time on our Alma Mater — give one kind look for me.

Very truly & respectfully

Your old classmate & friend

FROM NICHOLAS L. WILLIAMS²⁶⁰

Panther Creek 20th. June 1847

My dear Sir

I herewith send you two slips taken from the last Raleigh Register giving somewhat in detail the proceedings at our University—²⁶¹ You must not think that I am f[li]attering you when I say that you made many friends during your late visit to Chapel Hill

²⁶⁰ Nicholas L. Williams was born in what is now Yadkin County in 1799 and died on July 3, 1886. He was a trustee of the University of North Carolina and for many years a member of the Council of State. Grant, *Alumni History*, p. 676; Battle, *History of the University*, I, 493, 791, 825.

²⁶¹ Both clippings have been preserved. One of them was as follows:

“For the Register.”

“COMMENCEMENT OF 1847

“The customary festival at Chapel Hill was unusually brilliant this year. The visitors were greater in number and higher in rank, while the Exercises as well on the part of the distinguished Orators, as on that of the young gentlemen, will favorably compare with those on any occasion preceding.

“The President of the United States and his suite arrived at Chapel Hill late in the afternoon of Monday, and were welcomed at the Hotel by a long double line of the citizens of the County and the young gentlemen of the University, who uncovered their heads and silently greeted their illustrious visitors as they drove through. The line was then broken up and formed on each side of the gravel walk which leads through the grove to the front of the new Philanthropic Hall. After an interval of a few moments, the President passed up the walk, attended by several strangers of distinction, and proceeded, amidst every demonstration of personal respect on the part of the assemblage, to Gerard Hall, where he was to be received in form by Gov. Swain. On his way he was observed to point eagerly towards the building familiarly known as the Old Chapel.— The evening was pleasant and the Hall crowded by a large, very respectable and attentive audience. The President, having been conducted to the rostrum by Professor Green, was introduced to Gov. Swain and led to a seat among the Trustees of the University and other strangers of distinction; Judge Mason occupied a place at his side. The address of welcome of his arrival was elegant and appropriate, while his reply was conceived in such terms of courtesy and kindness, as were most suitable to the position he occupied, as a Chief Magistrate returning to the well-remembered scenes of his earliest and perhaps most grateful triumphs. Gov. Swain then, in behalf of the Alumni Association, welcomed the Secretary of the Navy, and the graces of that gentleman's acknowledgment of the compliment, were much heightened by the charms of his well-modulated silvery voice. After this the company dispersed with pleasant anticipations of a Commencement of which they had so agreeable a foretaste.

“On Monday Evening, Bishop Ives delivered an impressive discourse before the Senior Class, as a valedictory exhortation to discipline their affections, and bear through life a proper impression that those elements of man's inner life have fully as much as the intellect, to do with a determination of the belief, and, consequently, his temporal and eternal destiny. A very general sympathy was excited among the audience on their learning that the Bishop had risen from a sick bed to perform his interesting and important duty.

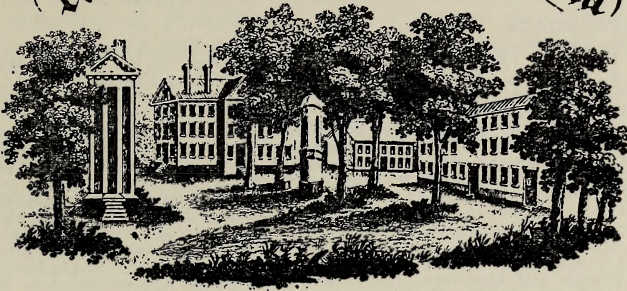
“On Tuesday forenoon the Senior Class was examined on National and Constitutional Law, in the presence of the President, Judge Mason, Gov. Graham, Judge Battle, Gov. Branch, Gov. Morehead, Hon. J. H. Bryan, Messrs. Courts, J. D. Hawkins, Leake, and N. L. Williams. Lieut. Maury, U. S. A. attended the examination of the Junior Class, on Astronomy. In the evening the declaimers selected from the Freshman and Sophomore Classes, gave very general pleasure by the taste which they displayed, as well in the selection, as the delivery of their Speeches.

“FRESHMEN.

“1. William H. Johnston, (*Tarborough*) Emmet's Speech, when asked why sentence of Death should not be pronounced upon him.

“2. Joel C. Blake, (*Florida*) Sheridan, on the Trial of Warren Hastings.

University of North Carolina



*The pleasure of your Company is respectfully
Solicited at a party to be given complimentary
to the Graduating Class at the Gayle Hotel.*

Thursday 3rd June. (Managers)
Geo. L. Baskinwell. Henry J. Guion.
Walter S. Gales, Jr. Oliver P. Martin.
Bryan & Guines. George H. Pendel.

ATTENDANT MANAGERS

Walter S. Gales, Esq. Hon. Edward Stanley.
Hon. Geo. C. Bridgel. Edward P. Hall, Esq.
Hon. Kenneth Rayner.
Hon. Tho. H. Hall.

*With the compliments and highest esteem,
of
"The Managers".*

Please tender my most res[pect]ful considerations to Mrs. Po[lk] and it will afford me sincere gratification to see you both at my house, should business or pleasure ever bring you again to N. Carolina

With very great regard

Yr. friend & obt^t Sev^t.

"3. Richard Hines Jr., (*Raleigh*) 'The Indian as he was and is' by Sprague.

"4. Samuel E. Whitfield, (*Mississippi*) Chatham, on the subjugation of the American Colonies.

"SOPHOMORES.

"1. Charles R. Thomas, (*Beaufort*) Bates, on the Indian Bill.

"2. William H. Jones, (*Wake County*) Benefits of History, by the Rev. C. Wolfe.

"3. Thomas J. Robinson, (*Fayetteville*) Webster, on Trial of Knapp.

"4. Augustus S. Graves, (*Georgia*) Address of the citizens of New Orleans, on the sufferings of the Irish, by Prentiss.

"On Wednesday Morning, Mr Osborne, of Charlotte delivered the annual address before the two Literary Societies. The audience was a crowded one, and deep attention was commanded by the handsome dissertation made by the distinguished gentleman on the causes tending to retard literary taste and excellence in the United States. It is regretted that the Speaker has declined affording a copy for publication. Immediately after the delivery of this Address, the Association of the Alumni held its usual meeting in the College Library. The attendance of members was well calculated to excite a just pride in the character and usefulness of our University. There were assembled as sons of this institution, the President of the United States, the Secretary of the Navy, Gov. Graham, Ex-Governors Branch and Morehead, Judge Battle, Treasurer Hinton, Hon. J. H. Bryan, Mr. Thomas J. Green of Va., Professors Green & Hooper, Messrs. Bingham, Craige, Courts, Calvin Graves, Osborne, Jeffreys, and many others, most worthy of the connection. Gov. Morehead took the chair, as President of the Association. Many new members were admitted. Among other business, Judge Mason arose and having made a handsome allusion to the debt he, as well as other members of this Association, owed to the labors of the late President Caldwell, moved that a subscription be set on foot for the purpose of erecting such a monument to his memory, as might testify the sense which all have of their obligations to his unwearied exertions and eminent ability. The motion passed unanimously, and it having been subsequently determined to limit the subscription to three dollars, as the largest amount any subscriber should be allowed to pay, the sum of two hundred and ten dollars was collected during the day of Commencement, the name of President Polk heading the list. It was also resolved, that every member present should place his signature on the Secretary's book. Messrs. J. H. Bryan and T. J. Green having been selected to accompany the Orators on the rostrum, the Association adjourned in high spirits at the success and prospect of the infant institution. The afternoon of Wednesday was set apart for repose.

"In the evening Gov. Morehead having called the Association together to order before a crowd of fashion, beauty, wit and wisdom, Judge Mason took his proper position, supported on the right by Mr. Bryan, and on the left by Mr. Green. The Oration which he delivered, was universally remarked as the finished production of high powers and fine taste, and during its delivery commanded frequent bursts of applause from the gratified auditory. Otherwise, the deep silence which pervaded the Hall, was broken but by the pleasing tones of the Speaker's voice, as he enumerated the substantial advances and glories of his country - the mysterious links by which a general education, an omnipotent free Press, a common object and a Religion under different manifestations, one and the same, bound together the destinies of a mighty people, the benefactors of their generation and last hope of the world. At the close of the Oration, the applause having somewhat subsided, Gov. Swain rose and moved a return of thanks to the Association to the Orator, and also a request of a copy of the Oration for publication. These motions were carried with enthusiastic unanimity. Obituary notices of the late Dr. John Hill, of Wilmington; William A. Bell, of Eutaw, Ala.; and William F. Brown, of Missouri, were handed in and placed in the archives of the Association. The Association then adjourned over to the Wednesday preceding the next Commencement.

"Thursday is, *par excellence* Commencement Day. being the day on which the Representation of the Graduating Class make their appearance in Public. The speaking was decided by good judges among the visitors, to be of a high character, as regarded both composition and delivery.

"This was the first occasion on which an English Salutatory had been delivered at this Institution. The manner in which the duty was performed by Mr. Ransom, rendered the Speech a great addition to the exercises of the day. The Valedictory, from the mouth of a young man *facile princeps* in every branch of science to which his attention had been directed, excited much feeling and admiration in an audience whose literary pretensions and cultivated taste are the best endorers of their judgement.

"Mr. Manly being absent, much to the regret of all who have been so long accustomed to the sound of his voice on Commencement day - a regret increased by the knowledge that he was absent from indisposition - Gov. Swain read a Report of the Scholarship and department of the several Classes, from which the following is an extract:

"The First distinction in the Senior Class was assigned to Messrs. Pettigrew and Ransom, in the order of their names. The Second to Messrs. Alston, Coleman, Erwin, Howerton, Pool and Winborne. The Third to Messrs. Battle, Guion, E. Hall, Kindred, Levy,

FROM WALTER F. LEAK

Rockingham Richm^d C^{ty} N. C.

July 15:/47

Jas K Polk

My D Sir

You may recollect that in March/45 I signified to you my desire to fill the consulate at Havana and that I handed you while in Washington such recommendations as I then and there obtained, which I

Lucas, Manly, Norcom and Shober. "The average attendance required of each Student upon the scholastic and religious exercises, is about 1400 a year, or 5600 during the complete Collegiate course of four years. Mr. Ransom is the only member of the Graduating Class who has never been absent during that period. Mr. Cansler has been absent once from Prayers and once from Recitation. Mr. Alston never failed in the performance of any duty during the first three years and a half of his collegiate course, but was absent nine times from Prayers during the last term of the Senior year. Mr. Levy has been absent fourteen times from Prayers, six times from Recitation, and once from Divine Worship, in four years, and all of these, except three absences from Morning Prayers, were occasioned by sickness. Mr. Winborne has been twice absent from Prayers; and Mr. Coleman seven times from Prayers, and four times from Recitation, during the three years that they have been members of this Institution. The next most punctual were Messrs. Berry, Pettigrew, Pool, Guion, Norcom, Hines, Battle, Erwin, Tate, E. Hall and Howerton, in the order of their names, Messrs. Alston, Battle, Berry, Erwin, Guion, Lankford, Norcom, Pettigrew, Pool, Shober and Winborne, have not been recorded on the Conduct Roll for any act of indecorum at any of the stated exercises of the Institution, and their entire course with scarcely an exception, in the case of any one is believed to have been characterized by marked and exemplary propriety.

"In the Junior Class, the First Distinction was assigned to Messrs. Gales and J. Wilson; the Second to Messrs. Baskerville and Mangum.

"In the Sophomore Class, the First Distinction was assigned to Messrs. Battle, Hale, and Robinson; the Second to Messrs. Haigh, James M. Johnson, Lucas, and B. Whitfield.

"In the Freshman Class, the First Distinction was assigned to Messrs. Johnston and S. Whitfield, in the order of their names; the Second to Messrs. Chalmers and Smith.

"The Degree of Bachelor of Arts was conferred on the thirty-seven regular members of the Senior Class, and on Mr. F. B. McMillan, an irregular member of the same, *ex speciali gratia*.

"The Degree of Master of Arts was conferred on Messrs. John Heritage Bryan, Jr., of Charlotte; Burton Craige, of Catawba; Charles F. Dewey, M.D., of Raleigh; Robert Paine Dick, of Rockingham; Dennis Dozier Ferebee, of Pasquotank; William White Harris, M.D., of Wilmington; James H. Headen, Esqr., of Chatham; Angus R. Kelly, of Moore; James S. Johnston, of Warrenton; John Wesley Long, M.D., of Randolph; Peter King Rounsaville, of Lexington; Walter Leak Steele, of Richmond; John Lee Williamson, M.D., of Caswell.

"The Honorary Degree of Master of Arts was conferred on Lieut. Maury; that of Doctor of Laws on Prof. Peirce, of Cambridge University.

"On the afternoon of Thursday, the Commencement exercises having closed, President Polk and his Suite set off for Moring's, on their way to Raleigh, the President designing an early start in the Cars of the next day.

"The visitors at Chapel Hill can scarcely fail to have a pleasant recollection of President Polk. The character which he chose to support— that of an unpretending citizen of a mighty Republic — was well calculated to set off to the height his best traits. The total absence of parade, the sincere and unassuming courtesy with which he reciprocated every attention which he received, have left very pleasant impressions of his character as a private gentleman. It was a subject of general concern, that his silvered hair and care-worn features seemed to denote a life of incessant toil and perhaps suffering. His appearance is of a man above sixty years of age. The manner of the President's Lady were remarked as peculiarly fascinating, by all who approached her; and if the pleasure she received from her visit be in any proportion to that which she gave, she cannot easily forget Chapel Hill and the University of North Carolina.

"Judge Mason also carries away many hearts from Chapel Hill. His appearance is that of a Virginian of the best days of the Old Dominion. His frank, generous temper, the interest he displayed in all the exercises, and his evident willingness to be pleased with the efforts of the younger sons of his *Alma Mater*, elicited many expressions of esteem among those who attended the Commencement of 1847.

"Lieut. Maury, so favorably known as the Superintendent of the National Observatory at Washington City, was also the object of much attention. The high position to which he is every day advancing in the world of science; the renown which his studiousness and ability are shedding on his place and profession; and the fact, so apparent, that in the seclusion of the closet he has not lost the interesting characteristics of the sailor and soldier, gained him all the deference and regard so due to a man of letters, and an Officer in the American Navy.

did principally for the information of the Sec^{ty} of State with whom, I had not even a personal acquaintance.

Shortly after I had made known to you my wishes, I learned from my friend (the late Jesse Speight) that there had been got up, a strong remonstrance against the removal of Mr Campbell signed by Mess^s McDuffie & others and that although he had some reason to think that you were inclined to give me the appointment yet that he feared if I press^d my claim, it might somewhat embarrass your administration, particularly as the remonstrance came from the source it did.

Gov Speight suggested to me to Postpone my application for the time being, and your Excellency will recollect that I address^d you a note while in Washington, informing you that in consequence of the remonstrance aforesaid and its supposed ulterior effect (in the event of my getting the appointment) that I was no longer an applicant for the Consulate.

In this course, I was actuated from a desire, that your Administration should come forward under such auspices, as would most likely secure to it the support in question.

The reason, which induced the withdrawal of my name, being no longer sufficiently potent, I can see no impropriety in again presenting it.

I was induced to make the application originally from the two considerations I thought it not only an honourable but a profitable one, and I thought a residence there would improve the delicate health of Mrs. Leak.

The same reasons still exist but the latter to a much greater extent, so much so, that I have been compell^d. to decline invitations from meetings in the Western part of my District, to suffer my name to be used as a Candidate, in opposition to Col. Barringer,²⁶² and although I have it in view to visit Havana for the purpose aforesaid, I should like very much to be placed in a situation to "pay my way."

My circumstances in life are entirely independent, though not affluent.

"With that of other distinguished strangers, the presence of Mr. Thomas J. Green, of Halifax, Va., was greeted with great pleasure. At College, he was reputed the genius of the Class in which the President graduated. Since he left College, he has preferred the quiet life of a private citizen to the conflicts, poignant pleasures and bitter disappointments attending the career of a politician; and the argument in favor of his choice, gained from a comparison of his thoughtful, tranquil expression, with the anxious countenance of the President of the United States, perhaps the most successful politician of his day is decided, if not altogether decisive. As the two gentlemen sat on the rostrum together, a stranger might have thought their ages separated by an interval of more than twenty years.

"It would be improper to conclude this sketch, without noticing the great efficiency of the Marshall for Commencement, Mr. Thomas J. Person, of Northampton, and his Assistants, Messrs. Bynum, Cameron, Pender, and Strange. Their contribution to the arrangements which gave such universal satisfaction, was generally recognized and esteemed as deserved.

"The music, from the Brass Band of Senor George of Richmond, Va., was very fine, and, although some *dancers* objected to the absence of Violins, all agreed that its performances in Gerard Hall were far superior to any that have heretofore enlivened Commencement."

²⁶² See Leak to Polk, March 13, 1845.

Mr Campbell the incumbent, was appointed by Mr Tyler, and has had the appointment about 6 years.

Allow me to say in conclusion and that with a familiarity & frankness Justified, (I hope) by an acquaintance, of some 30 years, that there is something in applying for office, that to me is humiliating, which you can better appreciate, than I describe yet I try to find a "salvo" in the fact, that I have never before sought office although I have had reasons to believe, that under Gen^l. Jacksons administration, it was in my reach.

Should you have it in your power to serve me, consistent with your sense of propriety, and a just regard for the interests of the Country, I would gladly accept the appointment or any other highly favorable one, within the reach of your estimation of my competency.

I should be pleased to hear from you, at your convenience, and any communication,²⁶³ which you may make, may be done (if desired) in perfect confidence.

Respectfully

Y^r m^o O^b s^t

²⁶³ Leak enclosed the following newspaper clipping:

"Mr. Leak's Letter.

"We lay before our readers to-day, the letter of Mr. Leak to the Lincoln Committee, in which, we regret to state, he declines a canvass in that District for Congress. He might, as he says in his reply, and probably would have been defeated; but we feel confident, from our knowledge of his patriotism and his self-sacrificing disposition, that he would have taken the field promptly, with the odds greatly against him as they are, but for circumstances beyond his control.

"Mr. Leak's letter is not only handsomely written, but it is replete with good sense and sound doctrine, and it will arrest the attention of the thinking portion of the Federal party. His views in relation to the *Raynorumander* of the last session are just and philosophical; and his remarks upon the course of the leading Federalists in regard to existing War, will meet a warm approval in the heart of every true American. His letter will be read with interest by men of both parties, and we commend it especially to the attention of our brethern of the Democratic press."

"Rockingham, Richmond County, }
July 1st, 1847.

"Gentlemen: Your letter of the 9th instant is before me, and would have been noticed as soon as received but for the hope that the circumstances in which it found me would have ere this admitted a different reply. Disappointed in this, I can no longer withhold an answer to your polite communication.

"I agree with you that great injustice has been done the Republican party by the Whig Legislature of 1846 in re-districting the State; an act indefensible in principle, wrong in example, and pernicious from the instability given to the entire system. I have read with attention the whole of the arguments brought forward by the most able of its advocates, and they amount to this - that in the regular apportionment of representation, the democratic party did wrong; *therefore*, the whig party are justified in doing a greater wrong.

"Without entering into a discussion of the first proposition, I will confine myself in a few words to the second. If from the nature of our institutions it is right that the tenure should be restricted barely to a time which shall allow the Representative to become acquainted with the wants of his constituency, the obligation is equally great, that those represented should be allowed some little breathing time to consult together, interchange opinion, and petition for a redress of wrongs.

"I hold it wrong, under any circumstances, to accomplish political ends by Legislative means; such shall never receive my sanction. It is a prostitution as well as a perversion of the powers of legislation, not only highly irritating in its effects upon the outraged party, but absolutely humiliating in its origin with the other; for it is a tacit acknowledgement that the principles advocated cannot stand the searching operation of fair argument, but distrustingly call to their aid the 'brief authority' with which those in power may be clad. Besides this, if carried out, and carried out it will be, from a principle of self-defense, it looks to an *enlargement* of the tenure, which is a highly objectionable feature- characteristic it is true of the 'Hamiltonian School' but which should be utterly repudiated by every disciple of Jefferson; for his doctrine was, 'that error of opinion might be safely tolerated as long as reason was left free to combat it.'

FROM ARCHIBALD G. CARTER²⁶⁴

Mocksville

July 22. 1847

My dear Sir

I am requested by many of the citizens of Mocksville near which I reside (both Whigs & Democrats) to make a statement of facts, as to the appointment of a post master in that village—The incumbent is a Whig & the one that is proposed to be appointed is of our ancient Democratic family and every way worthy of the appointment— and as I am personally unknown to Mr Johnson,²⁶⁵ I will ask the favour of you to hand him the circular letters.

The postmaster in office is a Whig and the one recommended a democrat. I was highly pleased with my visit to Chapel Hill, especially in seeing so many of our old friends and college associates and had hoped to have been more with you, but was prevented by an attack of

"You are certainly right in supposing that the present unparalleled prosperity of the country, with the low price of goods in particular, are chiefly to be attributed to the triumph of Republican principles — a triumph achieved in the memorable contest of '44, when the principle of a 'revenue tariff' overcame its antagonists in the person of James J. Polk. Nor was that the only benefit. The voice of the people in the elevation of Mr. Polk not only condemned a 'protective tariff' but likewise a national bank, the distribution of the proceeds of the public lands, as well as every other latitudinous construction of the constitution, upon which the prominent measures of the whig party so much depend. With you, I contributed my feeble aid in producing such a state of things, and with you, I recognize in its fullest extent the obligation to stand up in their defence.

"In regard to the existing war with Mexico, I believe (although I acquit them of any such intention) that the course of the whig press in general, with that of the leaders in Congress in particular, has been in reality extending 'aid and comfort' to the enemy; and although it might not subject them to any want of patriotism in its more enlarged and comprehensive sense, yet it certainly renders them justly obnoxious to the imputation, that for the sake of a mere party triumph they are disposed to *risk* to some extent national disgrace. There are two kinds of patriotism, if you will allow the classification, which every citizen should possess, *both* of which are required in any emergency. There is the patriotism of *instinct*, as well as the patriotism of calculation. While we should carefully take counsel of the 'second sober thought' in the progress of a quarrel, yet the fight *having commenced*, the scabbard should be thrown away, and all our impulses should take sides with our country. It is here that they have exhibited a *shameful* deficiency; they have suffered their natural impulses to be suppressed, and, for *party* purposes, diverted from their true channel. Against them I bring no railing accusations; but I must be allowed to say that I admire a patriotism that is both national in its origin as well as in its effects— that is *less* diffusive in its 'sympathies' — in other words, that kind of *impulsive* feeling, which adopts fully, cordially, and unconditionally, the sentiment 'my country right or wrong, my country.' That this charge is not gratuitously made, I will simply refer to the past history of that party. When was it that those impulses were allowed to flow in their natural channel, if by suppressing them they thought they could accomplish a *party* end? When was it that *any* republican administration in any of our foreign 'broils' was right? We were wrong in the difficulty which we had well nigh got into about the French indemnity; we were wrong in all our Indian wars; wrong with Great Britain, about the North Eastern boundary; wrong about Oregon, and now more wrong than ever with Mexico. Suppose that we are wrong in our present difficulty, (which I am far from admitting) what practical good can result in promulgating it from the house tops? None that I can see, but on the contrary, much practical mischief. The idea of withdrawing our troops from the enemy's country under the hope of obtaining peace, is not entertained by them, or if it be, they *dare* not avow it. Such a course could produce no beneficial effect, and could only end in an expensive and protracted border war; and, in the end, we should be compelled at any cost to recover the advantages we now have, which should only be abandoned when peace was obtained. You might with equal propriety expect a bully, who in single combat had been thrice knocked down and so completely 'used up' as to be incapable of resistance, yet who still refuses to cry 'enough,' — you might as well expect him to surrender after being allowed time to 'get his wind,' Both parties then being in favor of a vigorous prosecution of the war, what other object have they in the 'hue and cry' now raised, than the one imputed to them? Yes, gentlemen, while our country calls for the *united* energy of its sons; while patriotic appeals have been made to the nation by its Executive; while the stars and stripes are already proudly waving over the walls of Monterey and Vera Cruz; while our gallant soldiers are suffering disease and death abroad in defense of our national honor, instead of letting our national impulses gush forth like the mountain flood, scooping out their

fever, on the Wednesday night and on account of the great crowd, I thought it prudent to leave on Thursday morning— I was pleased to see you, enjoy yourself after having been so long engaged in the cares and asperities of your office, and that you have again been permitted to leave your duties & visit our northern fellow citizens— I will say to you that I was disappointed at the performance of the present race of students at the University— I thought I saw in every thing around me the absence of him whose mane and pleasure always commanded such awe and respect from all— I never could properly appreciate Doctor Caldwell's real greatness— and the great loss the University has sustained in his death until I saw his place *attempted* to be supplied by Gov^r. Swain — we see nothing of that method, intense thought & thorough instruction of a Caldwell — it is true that our alma mater has by the management of those who now preside over her destinies have to a great degree surrendered in acquiring popular representation & increased numbers. but I greatly fear that the number of thorough scholars have lessened— I was much grieved to find that so many of my old classmates have died— and I was surprised to see our old friend *Ghost*, who I had thought was not in the land of the living— and the two Greens was all that I saw of your class— and I have an abiding hope that when you and your friends, (after you shall return to private life) will look back upon all the eventful Scenes of your administration— and as having closed— leaving the government in all of its departments in great prosperity and all its citizens prosperous contented and happy — I have some hope that when you shall return to private life we shall again meet within the borders of the good old North State—

most truly yrs

own channel, and spreading both deep and wide over all the plain, we have the mortifying spectacle exhibited that there are those in our very midst, bone of our bone, who for the furtherance of party have, to some extent, withheld the full homage of their affection from their country. While the battle rages union as the justice of its origin, is an important element of strength; it not only buoys up the national vessel, but gives both physical and moral power.

"Thrice is he armed who thinks his quarrel just."

"In conclusion, let me say with you, that the principles which are worth professing are certainly worth defending; and allow me to add that no man would more readily gird on his armor and make the sacrifice you require, could it be done consistently with the higher obligations under which I find myself placed. But the present health of my family, with the little probability of a sufficient improvement in time to canvass the district, render it out of my power to comply with your wishes; under different circumstances I would have done so, no matter how great the probability of defeat. I might and doubtless should have been beaten, but in defence of principles, and more particularly when called for from such a source, I would risk a 'flogging' at any time. Your strength, backed by the 'unterrified democracy' of the sister spoken of in your resolutions, might not have given success; but one thing is certain, that with Lincoln and the 'Hornet's nest' sustaining, I never should feel disgraced.

"In conclusion let me say, that although we have no candidate in the field, let not that betray us into an indifference to our principles, but 'follow whithersoever they lead.' In politics as in religion, the judgment should become convinced before allegiance is exacted, but when given, there should be no compromise of the fundamental truths of either. The principles of our political faith have nobly conducted the country through the first and wars of independence, and will not be found incompetent to plant the star spangled banner (if necessary) upon the wall of Mexico.

"Respectfully, your ob't serv't.

"WALTER F. LEAK.

"To Messrs. Jno. H. Wheeler, Wm. Lander, and M. Hull, Esquires."

²⁶⁴ See Carter to Polk, April 25, 1847.

²⁶⁵ Cave Johnson was Postmaster General.

FROM JOHN C. ANSON

Hillsborough July 31st 1847

Your Excellency

As so long a time has elapsed since my proposition to raise another company was tendered, (without a call) as to render it very doubtful if any farther call will be made upon this State; I trust that I may be held excusable for reminding your Excellency of the promise so kindly made me in the Spring through Mr Walker Anderson²⁶⁶ viz (that I should receive *certainly*, the first vacant command that occurred) & then also there are at this time, three vacancies in the Regiment. In the 1st Edgecombe by the promotion of Cap^t: Wilson.²⁶⁷ in the Wayne by the death of Cap^t Roberts & in the commissary's department by the death of Capt: Whitaker.²⁶⁸

I care not which of the appointments your Excellency may be pleased to Select, so that it may be as speedily made, as comports with your convenience; for though I hold myself perfectly ready to undergo the fatigue & trouble of raising another force, if so ordered: & indeed have some names pledged; Still if such force be not required, I do earnestly entreat your Excellency to redeem your promise, & relieve the anxiety under which I have been labouring, for Six months.

Though aware that those vacancies have existed for some time, Still knowing the many and various calls upon your attention, I have not considered myself slighted, & have been stimulated to remind you, from the fear that if much longer delayed, all chance of taking part in the game may be over, before I can get there. With respectful consideration I remain

Yr Excellency's Obt. Svt:

I was pleased to hear that W^m- had made so very advantageous a second marriage.²⁶⁹ He is an old acquaintance, having known him since in his boyhood when at School, & pleasantly renewed the acquaintance on my visits to Nashville a few years ago:

[To be concluded]

²⁶⁶ Walker Anderson (July 11, 1801-Jan. 1857), son of Daniel and Mary R. Cameron Anderson of Petersburg, Virginia, graduated with first honors at the University of North Carolina in 1819. He studied law under his uncle, Judge Cameron. On July 11, 1822, he married Phebe R. Hawks, a sister of Francis L. Hawks. Anderson became principal of a girls' boarding school in Hillsboro, but later accepted a position as professor of Philosophy and Astronomy at the University of North Carolina. In 1836 he resigned to go to Florida where he engaged in milling and mercantile business. Failing in this adventure, he began to practice law and in 1851 he became the first chief justice of Florida. Two years later he resigned. Battle, *History of the University*, I, 418.

²⁶⁷ Louis D. Wilson was appointed captain of the North Carolina volunteers, January 5, 1847, and become colonel of infantry, March 3, 1847. He died on August 12, 1847. Heitman, *Historical Register and Dictionary of the United States Army*, I, 1048.

²⁶⁸ Exum L. Whitaker was made captain of volunteers on February 2, 1847, and died on June 2, 1847. Heitman, *Historical Register and Dictionary of the United States Army*, I, 1026.

²⁶⁹ On June 29, 1847, William H. Polk married Mary Corse, daughter of Israel Corse of New York. Quaife, editor, *Diary of Polk*, III, 75.

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- DAVIDSON, ELIZABETH HUEY. Child labor legislation in the southern textile states. Chapel Hill, The University of North Carolina Press, 1939. 5 p., 302 p. illus. \$4.00.
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- FEDERAL WRITERS' PROJECT. These are our lives, as told by the people and written by members of the Federal writers' project of the Works Progress Administration in North Carolina, Tennessee, and

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- HEER, CLARENCE. Federal aid and the tax problem . . . prepared for the advisory committee on education. Washington, U. S. Government Printing Office, 1939. ix, 101 p. ([U. S.] Advisory committee on education. Staff study No. 4.) Apply.
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- MESSICK, JOHN D. Personality and character development. New York, Fleming H. Revell Company, [c. 1939.] 192 p. \$1.50.
- NORTH CAROLINA DENTAL SOCIETY. The history of the North Carolina dental society, with biographies of its founders. Raleigh, North Carolina Dental Society, 1939. 509 p. ports. Apply.
J. Martin Fleming, chairman of historical committee.
- NORTH CAROLINA DEPARTMENT OF CONSERVATION AND DEVELOPMENT. Industrial directory and reference book of the state of North Carolina. . . . [Durham, Presses of Christian Printing Company] 1938. 932 p. maps. \$7.50.
- NORTH CAROLINA NATIONAL GUARD. Historical annual, 1938. [Baton Rouge, La., Army and Navy Publishing Company,] 1938. 250 p. ports.
- ODUM, HOWARD WASHINGTON. American social problems; an introduction to the study of the people and their dilemmas. . . . New York, H. Holt and Company, [c. 1939.] vii, 549 p. illus. \$4.00, text edition \$3.00.
- PRIDGEN, TIM. Courage, the story of modern cockfighting. Boston, Little, Brown and Company, 1938. xi, 263 p. illus. \$3.50.
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- SPENGLER, JOSEPH JOHN. France faces depopulation. Durham, Duke University Press, 1938. x, 314 p. \$3.00.
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STAAB, HERMAN HENRY and GIDUZ, HUGO. Contemporary French readings in commerce, history, and sociology. Chapel Hill, The Book Exchange, 1938. 78 p. Mimeographed. \$1.45.

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VANCE, RUPERT BAYLESS. Research memorandum on population redistribution within the United States. . . . New York, Social Science Research Council, [1938.] xi, 134 p. (Social science research council. Bulletin 42. 1938). pa. \$1.00.

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ESKRIDGE, THOMAS JOSEPH. Growth in understanding of geographic terms in grades IV to VII. Durham, Duke University Press, 1939. x, 67 p. (Duke university research studies in education. [No. 4]) pa. \$1.00.

GREEN, MRS. CHARLOTTE (HILTON). Trees of the South. Chapel Hill, The University of North Carolina Press, 1939. xiv, 551 p. illus. \$2.50.

LEWIN, KURT. The conceptual representation and the measurement of psychological forces. Durham, Duke University Press, 1938. 247 p. (Contributions to psychological theory. [No. 4.]) \$2.00.

PEARSE, ARTHUR SPERRY. Animal ecology. New York, McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1939. xii, 642 p. illus. \$5.50.

- REID, ALBERT CLAYTON. Elements of psychology, an introduction. New York, Prentice-Hall, Inc. 1938 xix, 409 p. illus. (Prentice-Hall psychology series.) \$2.50.
- SMALL, JOHN KUNKEL. Ferns of the southeastern states; descriptions of the fern-plants growing naturally in the states south of the Virginia-Kentucky state line and east of the Mississippi river. . . . Lancaster, Pa. [The Science Press Printing Company] 1938. 517 p. illus. \$3.50.
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- BIGGS, ANDREW C. ed. Fireside companion in health; a working manual on correct living and health improvement through physiological therapeutics. . . . Asheville, Department of Publication, Better Health Foundation, Inc. [c. 1938.] 127 p. \$3.50.
- KORSTIAN, CLARENCE FERDINAND. Plant competition in forest stands. Durham, 1938. 125 p. illus. (Duke university. School of forestry. Bulletin 3.) pa. \$1.00.
- LEMERT, BENJAMIN FRANKLIN. The tobacco manufacturing industry in North Carolina. Raleigh, National Youth Administration of North Carolina, 1939. 107 p. illus. Mimeographed. Apply.
- MCGEE, JULIAN MURRILL. Modern health guide. Greensboro, The Murrill Press, c. 1939. 243 (i. e. 249) p. illus. \$2.50.
- MATHERLY, WALTER JEFFRIES. Business education in the changing South. Chapel Hill, The University of North Carolina Press, x, 342 p. \$3.00.
- MAUGHAN, WILLIAM, ed. A guide to forestry activities in North Carolina, South Carolina, and Tennessee. [Asheville, Miller Printing Company for] Appalachian Section, Society of American Foresters, 1939. 287 p. illus. \$2.25, pa. \$1.50.
- WYCHE, MARY LEWIS. The history of nursing in North Carolina; edited by Edna L. Heinzerling. Chapel Hill, The University of North Carolina Press, 1938. xv, 151 p. illus. \$3.00.

Fine Arts

BLACKBURN, WILLIAM. The architecture of Duke university. Durham, Duke University Press, 1939. ix, 74 p. illus. Apply.

GREEN, PAUL ELIOT. The lost colony song-book; songs, hymns, dances, and other music from the play "The lost colony" by Paul Green. . . . Special music by Lamar Stringfield, additional settings by Lamar Stringfield and Adeline McCall. New York, Carl Fischer, Inc. c. 1938. 39 p. pa. \$.60.

HAYDON, GLEN, translator. Counterpoint, the polyphonic vocal style of the sixteenth century, by Knud Jeppesen. . . . translated, with an introduction by Glen Haydon. . . . New York, Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1939. xviii, 302 p. illus. (music). (Prentice-Hall music series.) \$3.00.

LOCKWOOD, MRS. ALICE GARDNER (BURNELL), editor. Gardens of colony and state; gardens and gardeners of the American colonies and of the republic before 1840. . . . [New York] published for the Garden Club of America by C. Scribner's Sons, 1931-34. 2 v. illus. \$25.00. Volume 2 has a section on North Carolina gardens.

MACMILLAN, DOUGALD. Drury Lane calendar, 1747-1776, compiled from the playbills. . . . Published in coöperation with the Huntington library. Oxford, The Clarendon Press, 1938. xxxiii, 364 p. \$4.25.

MANLEY, JOE F. Fishing in the Great Smoky mountains national park and adjacent waters. Gatlinburg, Tenn., J. F. Manley, [c. 1938.] ix, 79 p. illus. \$2.00.

[WALKER, WILLIAM] The Southern harmony songbook . . . reproduced, with an introduction by the Federal writers' project of Kentucky, Works Progress Administration; sponsored by the Young Men's Progress Club, Benton, Kentucky. New York, Hastings House, 1939. 11 p. xxxii, 366 p. illus. (American guide series.) \$2.00.
A reproduction of the 1854 edition.

Poetry

BURT, CLARE LOUISE. Darkest hour. Raleigh, privately printed for the author, 1939. 19 p. Apply Author, Southern Pines, N. C.

MILLER, ALLEN GUIVERE. Along life's way; selections from his best short pieces, both new and already published, and from those of his sister, M. M. W. . . . Boston, Meador Publishing Company, 1938. 87 p. port.

- PENRY, ALICE ARMFIELD. Woven threads. Winston-Salem, Clay Printing Co., 1938. 73 p. \$1.00.
- UPCHURCH, MRS. MOLLIE JOHNSON. Three score years and ten. [Oxford, Oxford Orphanage, pr. 1937.] 107 p. Apply Author, Mrs. T. B. Upchurch, Raeford, N. C.
- WADDELL, MAUDE. Carolina coast; songs of the southern sea. [Wendell, Gold Leaf Press, pr. 1938?] 25 p.

Drama

- DANIEL, ELLA MAE. Hunger, a tragedy of North Carolina farm folk. Minneapolis, Minn. The Northwestern Press, c. 1938. 24 p. pa. \$.35.
- FUSSLER, MRS. IRENE GRAHAM (HOWE). In the shadow of the cross, yesterday and today. Boston, [Walter H. Baker Company, c. 1938.] 51 p. pa. \$.50.
- GREEN, PAUL ELIOT. Out of the South, the life of a people in dramatic form. New York, Harper and Brothers, 1939. xii, 577 p. \$3.00.
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- KOCH, FREDERICK HENRY, editor. American folk plays. . . . New York, Appleton-Century Company, Inc., 1939. xlvi, 592 p. illus. \$4.00.
- McLAUGHLIN, JAMES A. Ra-cruits (a three-act play). [Asheville, The Inland Press, 1938.] 83 p. pa. \$.25.
- NIGGLI, JOSEPHINE MORGAN. Mexican folk plays. . . . Chapel Hill, The University of North Carolina Press, [c. 1938.] xiii, 223 p. illus. \$2.50.
- VOLLMER, LULA. The hill between; a folk play in three acts. . . . Chicago, Longmans, Green and Company, [1939.] 110 p. (Longmans' play series.) \$.75.

*Fiction*¹

- BOLTON, IVY MAY. Tennessee outpost. New York, Longmans, Green and Company, 1939. 252 p. Juvenile. \$2.00.
- BOYD, JAMES. Bitter Creek. New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1939. 422 p. map. \$2.50.
- BURT, MRS. KATHARINE (NEWLIN). Men of Moon Mountain. Philadelphia, Macrae Smith Company, 1938. 272 p. \$2.00.

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- COBB, LUCY MARIA and HICKS, MARY A. *Animal tales from the Old North State . . . illustrated by Inez Hogan.* New York, E. P. Dutton and Company, Inc. 1938. 200 p. illus. Juvenile. \$2.00.
- DIXON, THOMAS. *The flaming sword. . . .* Atlanta, Monarch Publishing Company, 1939. 562 p. illus. \$3.00.
- HARRIS, MRS. BERNICE KELLY. *Purslane.* Chapel Hill, The University of North Carolina Press, 1939. 316 p. \$2.50.
- HENRY, O. (pseudonym of WILLIAM SIDNEY PORTER). *O. Henry encore; stories and illustrations by O. Henry usually under the name of The Post Man, discovered and edited by Mary Sunlocks Harrell.* New York, Doubleday, Doran and Company, Inc. 1939. xvii, 247 p. illus. \$2.00.
- LINDSAY, MAUD MCKNIGHT. *Posey and the peddler . . . illustrated by Ellis Credle.* 186 p. illus. Juvenile. \$1.50.
- ROBERTSON, BEN. *Travelers' rest.* Clemson, S. C. The Cottonfield Publishers, [c. 1939.] ix, 268 p. table. \$1.50. (The greater part of the story has its scene laid in South Carolina, though it begins in North Carolina.)
- SHARPE, MRS. STELLA GENTRY. *Tobe . . . photographs by Charles Farrell.* Chapel Hill, The University of North Carolina Press, 1939. 121 p. illus. Juvenile. \$1.00.
- SIMS, MRS. MARIAN (MCCAMY). *Memo. to Timothy Sheldon.* Philadelphia, J. B. Lippincott Company, [c. 1938.] 252 p. \$2.00.
- STILLMAN, ALBERT LEEDS. *Drums beat in old Carolina. . . .* Philadelphia, The John C. Winston Company, [c. 1939.] 244 p. illus. Juvenile. \$2.00.
- WOLFE, THOMAS. *A note on experts.* New York, House of Books, Ltd. 1939. (The crown octavos. No. 5.) [28] p. Limited edition. \$2.50.
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Literature, Other Than Poetry, Fiction, and Drama

- ADAMS, NICHOLSON BARNEY and PLACE, EDWIN B. *Lecturas modernas; a beginning reader in Spanish.* New York, F. S. Crofts and Company, 1938. viii, 176 p. \$1.20.
- BARRETT, LINTON LOMAS and LINKER, ROBERT WHITE, editors. *A Mediaeval Italian anthology.* Chapel Hill, Book Exchange, 1938. [2], 47-79, lxxxvii p. Mimeographed.

- FRIEDERICH, WERNER PAUL. *Die Schweiz*. . . . Chicago, J. B. Lippincott Company, [c. 1938.] 90 p. illus. \$1.00.
- JOHNSON, ROZELLE PARKER. *Compositiones variae* from Codex 490, Biblioteca capitolare, Lucca, Italy; an introductory study. Urbana, Ill., The University of Illinois, 1939. 116 p. (Illinois studies in language and literature. V. 23, No. 3.) pa. \$1.50.
- LLOYD, CHILDS ALLEN. *We who speak English, and our ignorance of our mother tongue*. New York, The Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1938. 308 p. \$2.50.
- MCILWAINE, SHIELDS. *The southern poor-white from Lubberland to Tobacco road*. Norman, Okla., University of Oklahoma Press, 1939. xxv, 274 p. \$3.00.
- MORRIS, MRS. ELIZABETH (CLEVELAND). *Adult adventures in reading; practice exercises for adult elementary students*. . . . New York, E. P. Dutton & Company, Inc., 1939. xiii, 264 p. illus. \$1.50.
- Teachers' manual. vi, 31 p. paper \$0.50.
- REDDING, JAY SAUNDERS. *To make a poet black*. Chapel Hill, The University of North Carolina Press. 1939. x, 142 p. \$1.50.
- SHUTE, JOHN RAYMOND. *Tales of yore*. Monroe, Nocalore Press, 1938. \$1.00.
- WIDGERY, CLAUDE BROOKE. *Beginnings, essays, stories, poems*. [Durham] Printed for private circulation [by Seaman Printery] 76 p.

Travel

- BOWMAN, MRS. ELIZABETH SKAGGS. *Land of high horizons*. Kingsport, Tenn., Southern Publishers, Inc., 1938. xiv, 212 p. illus. \$2.50.
- SHEPHERD, GRANT. *The silver magnet, fifty years in a Mexican mine*. . . . New York, E. P. Dutton and Company, Inc., [c. 1938.] 302 p. illus. \$3.00.

Genealogy

- CARR, JAMES OZBORN. *The Carr family of Duplin county, written about 1920*. Wilmington, Wilmington Stamp and Printing Company, 1939. 65 p. illus.
- DEAL, ROMULUS COLUMBUS and DEAL, KELSIE LEOLA. *Deal-Stafford genealogical history*. [Taylorsville,] Printed by the Taylorsville Times, c. 1939. 150 p. ports. \$2.50.

HINSHAW, WILLIAM WADE. *Encyclopaedia of American Quaker genealogy*, volume 2, containing every item of genealogical value found in all records and minutes . . . of four of the oldest monthly meetings which ever belonged to the Philadelphia yearly meeting of Friends. . . . Ann Arbor, Mich., Edwards Brothers, Inc., 1938. 1126 p. \$15.00 a volume. (Many of the North Carolina Friends came from Pennsylvania.)

HOFFMAN, MAX ELLIS. *The Hoffmans of North Carolina*. . . . Asheville, M. E. Hoffman, [c. 1938.] xiii, 192 p. illus.

MORRIS, JANE. *Adam Symes and his descendants*. Philadelphia, Dorrance and Company, [c. 1938.] 403 p. \$3.50.

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[BEECHER, GEORGE.] *Science and change in Alamance County life; a background for the development of science studies in the schools of Alamance County, North Carolina*. [Elon College, Author,] 1938. 140 p. illus. Mimeographed. Out of print.

BURT, STRUTHERS. *Powder River: Let 'er buck*. New York, Farrar & Rinehart, Inc., 1938. xi, 389 p. map. (Rivers of America). \$2.50.

CARROLL, EBER MALCOLM. *Germany and the great powers, 1866-1914; a study in public opinion and foreign policy*. New York, Prentice-Hall, Inc. 1938. xv, 852 p. \$5.00.

CHAMBERLAIN, MRS. HOPE (SUMMERELL). *This was home*. Chapel Hill, The University of North Carolina Press, [c. 1938.] viii, 328 p. \$3.50.

COULTER, ELLIS MERTON, editor. *The other half of old New Orleans; sketches of characters and incidents from the recorder's court of New Orleans in the eighteen forties as reported in The Picayune*. University, La., Louisiana State University Press, 1939. 108 p. illus. \$2.00.

DODD, WILLIAM EDWARD. *Growth of a nation, the United States of America* by E. C. Barker, W. P. Webb, and W. E. Dodd. Evanston, Ill., Row, Peterson and Company, 1937. xi, 724, xlvii p. maps. \$1.80.

GARDINER, MRS. MABEL HENSHAW and GARDINER, ANN HENSHAW. *Chronicles of Old Berkeley; a narrative history of a Virginia county from its beginning to 1926*. Durham, Seeman Printery, 1938. ix, 323 p. illus. map. \$5.00. Order from M. H. Gardiner, 119 Maple Ave., Martinsburg, West Virginia.

- FRIEDERICH, WERNER PAUL. Kurze geschichte des deutschen volkes. New York, F. S. Crofts and Company, 1939. xvi, 184 p. maps. \$1.15.
- JOHNSON, GERALD WHITE. America's silver age; the statecraft of Clay-Webster-Calhoun. . . . New York, Harper and Brothers, 1939. ix, 280 p. illus. \$3.50.
- LAWRENCE, ROBERT C. The state of Robeson. . . . Lumberton, N. C. [New York, Printed by J. J. Little and Ives Company], 1939. viii, 279 p. \$3.09.
- LINEBARGER, PAUL MYRON ANTHONY. Government in republican China. New York, McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1938. xv, 203 p. (McGraw-Hill studies in political science.) \$1.50.
- NEWSOME, ALBERT RAY. The presidential election of 1824 in North Carolina. . . . Chapel Hill, The University of North Carolina Press, 1939. 202 p. illus. (The James Sprunt studies in history and political science. V. 23, No. 1.) pa. \$1.25.
- PUETT, MRS. MINNIE STOWE. History of Gaston county. . . . Charlotte, The Observer Printing House, Inc., 1939. 218 p. illus. \$3.00.
- SCHERER, JAMES AUGUSTIN BROWN. Japan defies the world. . . . Indianapolis, The Bobbs-Merrill Company, [c. 1938.] 311 p. \$2.50.
- SITTERSON, JOSEPH CARLYLE. The secession movement in North Carolina. Chapel Hill, The University of North Carolina Press, 1939. vii, [1] 285 p. map. (The James Sprunt studies in history and political science. V. 23, No. 2.) pa. \$1.25.
- U. S. DEPT. OF STATE. The territorial papers of the United States. . . . Washington, U. S. Govt. Print. Office, 1934— V. 4, 1936, deals with territory created from North Carolina, from which Tennessee was made. \$1.75 a volume.
- WILLIAMSON, WILBUR MUNRO. The history of company "L," 120th Infantry. . . . Lumberton, Freeman Printing Company, 1938. 104 p. illus. pa. \$1.00.

Biography

- AHL, FRANCES NORENE. Andrew Jackson and the constitution. Boston, Christopher Publishing House, 1939. 168 p. illus. \$2.00.
- BAKELESS, JOHN EDWIN. Daniel Boone. New York, W. Morrow and Company, 1939. xii, 480 p. illus. \$3.50.
- DOWD, JEROME. The life of Braxton Craven; a biographical approach to social science. Durham, Duke University Press, 1939. xvi, 246 p. port. (Duke University publications.) \$3.00.

- DUKE UNIVERSITY. In memoriam, William Kenneth Boyd, January 10, 1879-January 19, 1938. Durham, Duke University Press, 1938. vii, 97 p. port. (Historical papers of the Trinity college historical society. Series 22.) pa. \$1.00.
- GREENSBORO BAR ASSOCIATION. The Greensboro bar; pictures and biographical sketches of its members, including practicing attorneys and judges, 1939. [Greensboro,] Greensboro Bar Association, [1939.] 63 p. ports.
- JAMES, POWHATAN WRIGHT. George W. Truett, a biography . . . with an introduction by Douglas Southall Freeman. New York, The Macmillan Company, 1939. xv, 281 p. illus. \$2.50.
- LAWRENCE, ROBERT C. Here in Carolina. . . . Lumberton, N. C., 1939. 302 p. \$3.00.
- LOCKMILLER, DAVID ALEXANDER. Sir William Blackstone. . . . Chapel Hill, The University of North Carolina Press, 1938. xiii, 308 p. illus. \$3.00.
- MACDONALD, ALLAN REGINALD. The truth about Flora Macdonald; edited with an introduction by Donald MacKinnon, Portree, Skye. Inverness, [Scotland], The Northern Chronicle Office, 1938. xv, 126 p. illus. 10/6.
- MATTHEWS, THOMAS EDWIN. General James Robertson, father of Tennessee. Nashville, Tenn., The Parthenon Press, [c. 1934.] 588 p. illus. \$2.50.
- MOORE, WALTER WILLIAM. The life and letters of Walter William Moore, second founder and first president of Union theological seminary in Virginia, by J. Gray McAllister. Richmond, Va., Union Theological Seminary, 1939. 576 p. illus. \$2.50.
- SCHAAPE, C. RICHARD. The life of Daniel Boone in picture and story. New York, Cupples & Leon Company, [c. 1934.] 56 p. illus. Juvenile. \$.50.
- TOUSEY, SANFORD. Daniel Boone, written and illustrated by Sanford Tousey. New York, Rand, McNally and Company, c. 1939. [34] p. illus. Juvenile. \$.50.
- WILSON, MRS. LOLLIE (CAVE). Hard to forget, the young O. Henry. Los Angeles, Lymanhouse, 1939. xiv, 235 p. illus. port. \$2.50.

New Editions and Reprints

- BURT, MRS. KATHARINE (NEWLIN). When beggars choose. New York, Grosset and Dunlap, Inc. 1939. 255 p. \$.75.
- FORSTER, GARNET WOLSEY. Farm organization and management. New York, Prentice-Hall, Inc. 1938. xiv, 432 p. \$3.00.

- GROVES, MRS. GLADYS (HOAGLAND) and ROSS, ROBERT ALEXANDER. The married woman; a practical guide to happy marriage. New York, Blue Ribbon Books, Inc. 1939. ix, 278 p. \$.98.
- HUTCHISON, JAMES LAFAYETTE. China hand; illustrated by the author. New York, Grosset and Dunlap, Inc. 1938. 428 p. \$1.00.
- KENDRICK, BENJAMIN BURKS and HACKER, LOUIS MORTON. The United States since 1865. . . . 3rd edition. New York, F. S. Crofts & Company, 1939. 821 p. illus. \$5.00, text edition \$3.75.
- STONE, WALTON EDGAR. The lost soul; Book 10 of revised edition of Walton Stone, a Bunyan, Boone, Crockett, a Robinson Crusoe. 2nd edition. Loris, S. C. Author, 1939. viii, 223 p. \$2.00.
- WOOTTEN, MRS. MARY BAYARD (MORGAN) and STONEY, SAMUEL GAILLARD. Charleston, azaleas and old bricks; text by Samuel Gaillard Stoney. Popular edition. Boston, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1939. 25 p. 61 plates. \$5.00.
- YATES, KYLE MONROE. Essentials of biblical literature. Revised edition. New York, Harper & Brothers, 1938. xiv, 217 p. \$2.50.

BOOK REVIEWS

HISTORY OF THE NORTH CAROLINA STATE COLLEGE OF AGRICULTURE AND ENGINEERING OF THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA, 1889-1939. By David A. Lockmiller. (Raleigh: Edwards and Broughton Company. 1939. Pp. xvi, 310. \$2.50.)

For the alumni and friends of North Carolina State College, Dr. Lockmiller has produced a history of that institution which is richly studded with statistics, names of teachers, descriptions of departments, exploits of athletic teams, and other information of an official nature. The author, who is a member of the State College history faculty, deals effectively with the founding of the school, traces its amazing expansion through the fifty years of its history, and in a concluding chapter essays to suggest its place in the unfolding future. Any reader who is interested in these aspects of State College's history will find the present work a mine of information, rendered all the more useful by an excellent index.

The growth of State College is indeed an interesting facet of the history of education in the South. The institution began its work in 1889 with one building, about fifty students, eight faculty members, and an annual budget of \$30,000; in 1939 it had thirty-eight buildings, approximately 2,500 students, 330 faculty members, and an annual budget of nearly \$3,000,000. Originally it prepared its students for two major vocations; that number, Dr. Lockmiller writes, has now been increased to thirty-six. With a fidelity that is worthy of favorable comment, the college has kept pace with the development of the State.

The foregoing résumé of the institution's expansion indicates that the author had a significant theme, around which he might have constructed a warm and life-like history of State College. Unfortunately, this opportunity was not embraced. Despite its accuracy and its painstaking presentation of facts, this book has serious omissions and regrettable shortcomings. Most of these, it seems, were occasioned by the sources of information employed by the author: college bulletins, reports of department heads, minutes of the Board of Trustees, minutes of the faculty, and other sources of an official nature. Although a selected bibliography lists a wider range of source material, it appears that the author placed his main reliance upon official sources. Student

magazines and newspapers might have given a glow of life to this history, but they appear to have been almost neglected.

From this dependence upon official sources, unfortunate weaknesses have developed. The work is too factual. Names, dates, statistics, college events, athletic achievements, lists of student organizations, and other undigested masses of facts are pounded into the brain of the hapless reader with trip-hammer strokes. There is little interpretation of these facts; few attempts are made to fit them into a larger pattern; they are poured on unmercifully and with a hurried hand.

This factual history, moreover, omits important facts. At least a paragraph or two should have been devoted to the discharge of Dr. Carl C. Taylor, dean of the graduate school, for this action had more than a passing effect upon the faculty of State College. The attempt of some members of the faculty to effect the discharge of Dr. A. I. Ladu from the English department should not have been passed over in silence, for the failure of this attempt seems to indicate that Dr. Frank P. Graham has injected a greater degree of academic freedom into the affairs of State College. Nor should the author have ignored the widespread and serious consternation which the consolidation act caused in certain departments of the college.

Running through the book, and apparent on many of its pages, is the habit of loose and indiscriminate praise. Each administration is uniformly praised for its policies and for the growth of the college during its tenure; over its mistakes, if any, a mantle of silence is tactfully spread. Thus errors of policy and administration, many of which were typical of the period in which the college developed, are hidden from the reader's eye; and one receives the impression that the college has been led to its present state by the masterful strokes of the presidents and the faculty, with neither stumble nor misstep marring the dignity of the procession. Very little, for example, is written about the undue expansion of the college curricula—an expansion which threatened to transform an agricultural and engineering school into a university until the Legislature called a halt with its consolidation act. There is no word of criticism for the ambitious athletic program of State College, which employed high-salaried coaches, "attracted" athletes from the North and Northwest, and

filled the football programs with strange, unpronounceable names. A portion of the space devoted to athletics might have been used to throw light upon this interesting policy.

The weaknesses discussed in the foregoing criticism, however, do not rob the book of its essential value. As an accurate presentation of the facts of State College's growth, Dr. Lockmiller's work is useful and timely, and justifies the Alumni Association in underwriting the cost of publication.

RICHARD E. YATES.

HENDRIX COLLEGE,
CONWAY, ARKANSAS.

SON OF CAROLINA. By Augustus White Long. (Durham: Duke University Press. 1939. Pp. x, 280. \$3.00.)

This is a book which any older North Carolinian would enjoy reading; but which, I feel, will not be read as it deserves, simply because those who would enjoy it most are not in the habit of giving their time to many books. An excursion by means of the written page has never been the kind of pleasure trip which is customary in our State.

This is the autobiography of a man born in Orange County, in central North Carolina, during the Civil War. In his earliest days he saw marchings and pursuits, and watched with boyish eyes the panorama of the approaching surrender as it threaded the roads of middle North Carolina to its ultimate end near Durham. He beheld the return of his father from his Northern prison. He saw his mother rush to embrace a strange gaunt soldier. He heard the stories of his privations and adventures. No element of Civil War romance was left out of these early years.

During the "Reconstruction" times, when the University of North Carolina stood empty, when "the halls were closed, the old bell silent, the doors of the literary societies, with oil portraits on their walls, swung wide," he was living in the small Southern town of Chapel Hill, no longer of and for the University, but simply a country town. His father was one of the merchants there. He gained a scanty schooling and found his way into the reopened University in 1880. His story is truly American: the poor boy's struggle for knowledge, for independence, and for a

measure of success; the death of his father and the mother's effort at maintaining her family by keeping a students' boarding house—the annals of bravely met adversity.

A thing that makes this book most interesting to me is the masculine standpoint, as he records it. The early chapters recall a lost paradise for any man-child growing up there. Later his tales are very different from the things that would be set down by a woman, the things which were recorded by Mrs. Cornelia Phillips Spencer, for instance. He speaks always as a man, of the outdoors, of hunting, dogs, guns, the scenes of the ragged woodland around Chapel Hill, the farms, the horses, the country Negroes, and the wicked mules. Mrs. Spencer tells the neighborly news of the town and is a loyal daughter of the University of North Carolina. She lives in the past, and for the future. Only occasionally does she go into the country. Mr. Long likes the country best; he spends all his vacations there, hunting the hills over with his speckled pointer, Roxie. You see the look of things—the thick edge of the woods when the birds whirl into the air and are dropped with clean aim. But no woman likes slaughter, even if she does like “birds,” and most of us are no lovers of bird dogs, either. We would chase them out into the yard where they belong, as did the old cook of Mr. Long's narrative, even if not going so far as to give them a taste of scalding water!

When he goes into the teaching profession after turning down what seems to our hindsight the far more interesting opportunity of working with Walter Hines Page, we follow him first to old Trinity, which he describes more closely and more winsomely than anyone else has done hitherto. Then his return to larger Northern institutions for more learning, his interval at Wofford in South Carolina, where he knew President Few, his work at Harvard, his teaching experience at Laurenceville School, and finally his fourteen years on the faculty of Princeton all make a distinguished and interesting life effort and life story. Then in his older years he comes back to North Carolina. He is fortunate in finding in the old State some still alive whom he knew “and loved when he was young.”

Mr. Long is a hero-worshiper—and what heroes he met in his long life! First, Page, who began so much that we still have to

finish, and later his Civil War hero, Wade Hampton; Theodore Roosevelt, the Princeton Van Dyke; Woodrow Wilson; and many other vivid personalities. We find recorded the names of his good friends, of Emerson, the millionaire, once a boy of small, old Chapel Hill, of his faculty and of his student friends. Not many men have had his advantage in seeing with their own eyes what was best in their day, and admiring it.

I do not consider it so much a great book as a true book of simple and interesting description. It compares the South in which he was brought up with the South which has grown into existence these last fifty years. His Chapel Hill, too, is not at all the Chapel Hill which I once knew, or which I had been told about in my acquaintance with Mrs. Spencer and my work in reinterpreting her to this generation. This fact illustrates the complexity and variety of almost any aggregate of society, however small. I do not care so much for his views on politics nor on the religion he believes in, but I do esteem him for an honest man and a lover of North Carolina, as most of us somehow come in later years to value our State. He is worthy of the friends he makes and the manifest peace he has come into. The record of his life makes the kind of book many people should read, if only to appreciate the clay of our origin and to know what a heritage we have received from our forebears, what materials we possess, to work up into the future. Mr. Long's book is full of memories and of long thoughts. It was worth writing and its well worth reading.

HOPE SUMMERELL CHAMBERLAIN.

CHAPEL HILL, N. C.

THE REPRESSIBLE CONFLICT, 1830-1861. By Avery Craven. (University, La.: Louisiana State University Press. 1939. Pp. xi, 97. \$1.50.)

This group of three lectures, which Professor Craven delivered at Louisiana State University in February, 1938, as the Walter Lynwood Fleming Lectures in Southern History, might well be described as an attempt to decide whether man or nature was guilty of causing the American Civil War. It is well known that many writers, politicians, and others have placed the blame upon nature on the theory that natural forces, such as geography and climate, made the civilizations of the South and the North increas-

ingly different until at last conflict was inevitable; man was thus driven to war by forces greater than himself; the Civil War was the last act in a Greek tragedy.

Professor Craven is thoroughly dissatisfied with this "irrepressible conflict" interpretation of the Civil War, and by the following line of argument he reaches an opposing conclusion. Considering first the charge laid against nature, he finds himself unable to discover more than four factors which operated to give natural unity to the South: "weather, ruralness, the country-gentleman ideal, and Negroes in quantity." The aspect of these forces that chiefly impresses him is their "vague and uncertain character"; in contrast he finds geographical, racial, sectional, and political forces tending to diversify the South. Weighing these centripetal and centrifugal forces against each other, he concludes that nature had made the South "only a normal section in a nation of sections" and that "had conditions remained normal, there was little chance that she would have gone farther along the road of separation than her fellows." Therefore, to explain the war one must look for forces outside the realm of nature, and these, so Professor Craven believes, are to be found in "psychological factors of personal and political creation" which were evolved primarily from an attack upon the labor system of the South and then broadened into an attack against the character of her people and their entire way of life. The emergence of this attack, and of the quickly following counter-attack, is found in the debates over the Missouri Compromise. From then on an increasingly distorted picture of slavery and of slaveholders was drawn by Northern reformers and politicians; irritated Southerners began first to defend and then to glorify slavery and the entire Southern way of life. In time men "accepted a distorted picture of both themselves and the people in other sections." "By such means were a people of common blood and common heritage crowded into hostile camps and set on the road to civil war."

Such a brief summary can in no wise do justice to this thoughtful, penetrating interpretation of the origins of the Civil War. Its reasoning must be considered by students of American history, and its meaning should be pondered by all who are interested in the causation of international hatreds. Except for one criticism,

the present reviewer has nothing but praise for this study. Professor Craven points to the debate over the Missouri Compromise as the critical turning point when the slavery controversy first began to be dishonest, emotional, and bitter; but he does not attempt to explain this change. In fact, he seems to assume that no explanation can be found, that here man's actions were in no way related to sectional or economic background. The reviewer is not yet ready to agree that this was so. Is it not possible to find some rational explanation of why the issue was raised and why the issue caused so much bad feeling? Indeed, is there not the possibility, which Professor Craven does not disprove, that at the roots of this upsurge of bad feeling and irrationality are to be found sectional differences that were caused by nature itself? More light on the origin and course of the debate over the Missouri question would enhance the certainty of any answer to the question of whether the Civil War was irrepressible, in the sense that it had been decreed by natural forces. And if it be true that man must bear heavy responsibility, more light on the origin of the controversy would help determine the relative guilt of Northern men and of Southern men for beginning a conflict of words that led to a conflict of arms.

CHARLES S. SYDNOR.

DUKE UNIVERSITY,
DURHAM, N. C.

ANTISLAVERY ORIGINS OF THE CIVIL WAR IN THE UNITED STATES. By Dwight L. Dumond. (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1939. Pp. vii, 148. \$2.00.)

The author of this volume has traveled in a cycle until he now occupies virtually the position with reference to the causes of the Civil War as that held by Von Holst, Schouler, Rhodes, and Hart. He has come to the conclusion that the abolition movement was one prolonged religious revival and he sees no other cause for the Civil War than the moral issue of slavery. If one stops to consider the matter, it really seems passing strange that the American Civil War is the only great struggle in human history with no cause save a moral one. Only by closing the eyes, however, to practically everything that has happened in our history could the author reach such a simplified explanation of the Civil War.

He overlooks the fact that the sections were on the verge of breaking up the Union for forty-odd years before slavery became a moral issue between the sections. Has he forgotten the Alien and Sedition Laws, the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions, the Whiskey tax, the Anglomen and Jacobins, the Essex Junto, the Embargo, the War of 1812, the Hartford Convention, the protective tariffs, and nullification? And how about the Louisiana purchase and the balance of power? The United States Bank?

Even in his treatment of the anti-slavery movement the author has failed to take a comprehensive view. He fails to point out that slavery as a political and not a moral sectional issue was as old as the Federal government. The free states, and most particularly New England, had hardly ratified the Constitution when they became seriously dissatisfied over the three-fifths ratio clause in the Constitution that permitted the South to count three-fifths of its slaves in making up its representation. This counting of the slave population gave the South, according to New England's thinking, an unfair advantage and soon resulted in its gaining control of the Federal government. When new slave states were admitted into the Union the issue was nearly always brought up and with increased bitterness. The Missouri Compromise controversy, while giving rise to the first sectional attack upon the slaveholder and the South, was nevertheless understood to be a struggle for the balance of power between the North and the South. Slavery as a political issue was the basis of this struggle. At this time and henceforth, however, another political aspect of slavery was more basic than the three-fifths ratio: the complete exclusion of slaves from the territories, for it was now realized, if it had not been before, that a state open to slavery would be Southernized by the influx of Southern people; but that if slavery were not allowed, the probabilities were that Northerners would colonize it, and thereby swing the balance of power to the East. When the abolition crusade got under way, it was always politically identified with all efforts to destroy the balance of power and thereby relegate the South to a minority rôle. The Weld-Birney group of abolitionists were as conscious of this political aspect as were any of the Whig leaders of the East. This marriage of the political issue of slavery with the moral issue—an unbeatable combination—is not considered by the author. To

him, the fight for the sectional balance of power had only one objective—abolition.

Professor Dumond further restricts his perspective when he fails to consider Southern thought before the violent abolition crusade began in 1831. Despite the attack of the Northern leaders upon the South in the Missouri debates, Southern leaders freely discussed slavery, and almost unanimously agreed that it was a terrible evil. There was much sentiment in favor of emancipation; but the freed Negro must be removed, for the race question was deeper than the slavery question. The South was fearful of another Santo Domingo. When the attack of the radical abolitionists came, one more great discussion took place—the debates in the Virginia Assembly. After that Southerners were too afraid of Negro insurrection to debate the issue of emancipation. Mr. Dumond is wrong when he says that the South did not hear the abolition argument; the Southern defense of slavery was an answer to the abolition attack. It is quite true, however, that the abolition literature did not circulate—it was cautiously guarded, not because it was inflammatory and libelous beyond belief. It was not fear of converting the non-slaveholder to abolition (for he was more afraid of the Negro than was the slaveholder), but the fear of inciting the Negro population to war that determined the South in preventing the circulation of abolition literature.

Finally, Mr. Dumond either has not read abolition propaganda or, after he has done so, the words have conveyed a different meaning to him from the usual definition given to such words when found in Webster's dictionary—else he could never say that the abolitionists were reasonable.

FRANK L. OWSLEY.

VANDERBILT UNIVERSITY,
NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE.

CALDWELL & COMPANY: A SOUTHERN FINANCIAL EMPIRE. By John Berry McFerrin. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press. 1939. Pp. x, 284. \$3.50.)

In the author's own words, "the purpose of this book is to portray against the background of Southern economic development during the 1920's the history of an enterprise whose re-

markably rapid growth and tragic collapse constitute a unique episode in Southern finance." Professor McFerrin has done a thorough piece of research and has related in an able manner an almost fantastic story of high finance and chicanery.

Caldwell and Company was founded by Rogers Caldwell of Nashville, Tennessee, in 1917, for the primary purpose of marketing Southern municipal bonds. Its activities soon expanded, however, to include the financing of industries and the backing of banks and insurance companies. That the company was eminently successful in its various enterprises is attested by the fact that by 1929 it had more than fifty corporate affiliations in Tennessee and adjoining states. At the peak of its power, Caldwell and Company controlled assets totaling more than \$600,000,000.

The collapse of this great Southern financial empire in November, 1930, may be attributed in large part to the general business depression which began the preceding autumn. But, in addition, it is amply demonstrated that Caldwell and Company engaged in many unsound and illegal practices. As long as prosperity continued these were simply not revealed.

An interesting chapter is devoted to the company's political affiliations. Senator Luke Lea and Governor Henry H. Horton of Tennessee were in close collaboration with the Caldwells. The company sold the Kentucky Rock Asphalt Company to the State of Tennessee and made a profit of \$1,600,000. Also, State funds were turned into banks affiliated with Caldwell and Company. When the crash came, Colonel Luke Lea was indicted and ultimately imprisoned for his part in the failure of the Central Bank and Trust Company of Asheville, North Carolina. Many citizens of Tennessee regarded Governor Horton as a man who had robbed and cheated the taxpayers through his dealings with Caldwell. Impeachment proceedings against him were instituted but failed, partly because they were backed by Edward H. Crump of Memphis, who had none too savory a reputation himself. The author seems inclined toward the view that Governor Horton was simply a tool of Luke Lea and Rogers Caldwell.

Professor McFerrin has examined a mass of company records, correspondence, court proceedings, newspapers, and the like. There seems to be no important gap in his evidence. The material is presented primarily from the point of view of an economist,

and the book, in places, is rather technical. It will probably appeal most to those directly concerned with banking practices. Nevertheless, historians can ill afford to overlook so significant a chapter in the economic history of the South.

W. A. MABRY.

MOUNT UNION COLLEGE,
ALLIANCE, OHIO.

HISTORICAL NEWS

A large number of North Carolina historians attended the annual meeting of the American Historical Association in Washington, December 28-30, 1939. Several took part in the program, as follows: J. C. Russell of the University of North Carolina participated in the discussions at the sessions, "Mediaeval Culture, Ecclesiastical or Secular"? and "Population Studies and History"; Edgar T. Thompson of Duke University read a paper on "The Climatic Theory of the Plantation"; C. C. Crittenden of the North Carolina Historical Commission presided at the Conference of Historical Societies, and was reëlected chairman of that organization; Homer H. Dubs of Duke University read a paper on "Chinese Traditional Historiography as Revealed in the Compilation and Commentaries on the Ch'ien Han Shu"; Howard K. Beale of the University of North Carolina presided at a sectional meeting on "Population Studies and History," was a member of last year's nominating committee of the Association, and was made chairman of this year's nominating committee and a member of the program committee; Rupert B. Vance of the University of North Carolina read a paper, "The South's Development: The Population Factor"; J. T. Lanning of Duke University was chairman of a sectional meeting on "Cultural Relations with Hispanic America"; Charles S. Sydnor of Duke University presided at a joint session of the American Historical Association and the Southern Historical Association; and Benjamin B. Kendrick of the Woman's College of the University of North Carolina was discussion leader at the joint session listed immediately above.

On October 13, 1939, at the Raleigh Woman's Club Dr. Archibald Henderson of the University of North Carolina addressed a joint meeting of the Caswell-Nash Chapter of Raleigh and the Davie Poplar Chapter of Chapel Hill, Daughters of the American Revolution, on "The 'Davie Copy' of the Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence."

During January and February Dr. C. C. Crittenden delivered the following historical addresses: January 6, on cer-

tain social phases of the American Revolution, to the chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution in Whiteville; January 12, on the State Hall of History and its work, to the Bloomsbury Chapter, Daughters of the American Revolution, Raleigh; January 19, on North Carolina's part in the War for Southern Independence, at the presentation of four historical markers commemorating events in that war in Beaufort County; February 7, on the present responsibility of the United States in world affairs, to the New Bern Woman's Club; February 11, on the State Historical Commission and its work, to the Moseley-Bright Chapter, Daughters of the American Revolution, Kinston; February 13, on the Mayflower Cup contest, to the Esther Wake Book Club, Raleigh; February 21, on the proposed restoration of Tryon's Palace, over Radio Station WPTF, Raleigh; February 22, on the Historical Commission and its work to the chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution in Dunn; and February 26, on writing a history of Warren County, to the American Association of University Women, Warrenton.

Professor A. C. Krey, of the University of Minnesota, on February 1 addressed the Trinity College Historical Society of Duke University on "Problems of Research in Medieval History."

On January 23 Professor Paul H. Clyde of Duke University delivered an address before the Foreign Policy Association of Cincinnati, Ohio. Professor Clyde will teach in the second term of the summer session of the University of West Virginia.

During the coming summer Mr. James L. Godfrey of the University of North Carolina will offer courses in modern European history at the College of William and Mary.

Dr. J. C. Russell of the University of North Carolina has been promoted from assistant professor to associate professor.

Offering courses in history at Duke University during the summer session, in addition to the members of the resident

staff, will be W. H. Callcott of the University of South Carolina, T. D. Clark of the University of Kentucky, W. A. Mabry of Mount Union College, A. R. Newsome of the University of North Carolina, F. L. Owsley of Vanderbilt University, Jonathan F. Scott of New York University, C. H. Smith of the University of Chattanooga, and W. H. Stephenson of Louisiana State University.

While writing "The Career of Montfort Stokes in North Carolina," an article which appeared in this journal, Volume XVI, Number 3 (July, 1939), Mr. William Omer Foster was a member of the staff of the Federal Writers' Project, a Works Progress Administration project.

Mr. John Collins Daves, of Baltimore, Md., died on November 2, 1939, at the age of seventy-eight. A civil engineer of note, he became a member of the Society of the Cincinnati in 1889, and played a leading part in the activities of that organization. He was instrumental in reorganizing the North Carolina Society in the 1890's and held various high offices therein, including that of president from 1922 until his death. From 1932 until his death he was president general of the national society.

A state-wide Work Projects Administration archaeological project has been approved, with the University of North Carolina as sponsor and with the State Museum, the Archaeological Society of North Carolina, the North Carolina Society for the Preservation of Antiquities, and the North Carolina Historical Commission as co-sponsors. The project is expected to undertake excavations in connection with remains of Indian life and with artifacts from early white settlements, the latter especially at Bath and New Bern.

At Oxford, Ohio, according to a statement received, "the Mississippi Valley Press has recently been organized to publish volumes pertaining to cultural and political history. It is especially interested in giving scholars an opportunity to make significant contributions to Americana."

Edgar Legare Pennington, "Thomas Bray's Associates and Their Work Among the Negroes," *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society*, New Series, Vol. XLVIII, Part 2, pages 311-403, contains a brief description of the missionary activities of Bray's co-workers among the Negroes of North Carolina.

Books received include: Olin Bain Michael, *Yadkin College, 1856-1924: A Historic Sketch* (Salisbury, N. C.: Rowan Printing Company, 1939); Josephus Daniels, *Tar Heel Editor* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press. 1939); Ella Lonn, *Foreigners in the Confederacy* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press. 1940); and Burton J. Hendrick, *Statesmen of the Lost Cause* (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company. 1939).

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

To the Editor:

I have read with interest the article entitled "The Career of Montfort Stokes in North Carolina," by Mr. William Omer Foster in the July, 1939, issue of *The North Carolina Historical Review*. It is gratifying to note that Mr. Foster has carried out the suggestion made in an article of mine on Montfort Stokes with the sub-title: "Served the State with Distinction, but Is Ignored by Historians," which was published in our leading North Carolina dailies, notably in the *Durham Morning Herald*, June 5, 1927.

I am writing you this letter to correct two inexplicable errors in Mr. Foster's article. On page 241 of his article occur these two sentences, describing George Washington's visit to Salisbury, May 30, 1791:

At the hotel he was waited upon by a group of gentlemen who presented him with a laudatory address signed by John Steele, Judge Macay, Maxwell Chambers, and a number of others. A few minutes later the President read a formal, stereotyped message.²¹

The footnote 21 is as follows:

²¹ Both "The Address of the Inhabitants of Salisbury" and "The President's Answer" may be seen in *The State Gazette of North Carolina* (Edenton), July 3, 1791. Dr. Archibald Henderson (*Washington's Southern Tour*, 1791, p. 100) adds to the names of signers of the address to Washington those of Montfort Stokes, Charles Harris, and L. Beard: he does not give the President's answer. The President said, etc. (here follows the President's answer).

To say that I added to the names of the signers of the address to Washington appears to convey an insinuation of gratuitously adding names to those of the real signers of the document. I infer, however, that Mr. Foster means that only the names of John Steele, Spruce Macay, and Maxwell Chambers are appended to the address as printed in *The State Gazette of North Carolina*, July 3, 1791. It is regrettable that Mr. Foster in the first instance did not refer to the original document to be found in the Washington Papers, Library of

Congress. A photostatic copy of this document, framed, was presented by me some years ago to the Salisbury City Schools, and is doubtless still hanging on some wall of one of the city schools. A facsimile of this document is reproduced in an article of mine on Judge Spruce Macay, which appeared in the leading North Carolina dailies, notably the *Greensboro Daily News*, May 29, 1927. The six signatures to the original document are written as follows:

Spruce Macay	M. Stokes
Max: Chambers	Cha ^s . Harris
Jn ^o . Steele	L. Beard

Mr. Foster's other misstatement *viz.*, that in my *Washington's Southern Tour*, 1791 (Houghton, Mifflin Co., 1923) I do not give the President's answer, is even more inexplicable. In a very full account of Washington's visit to Salisbury, published in Fenno's *Gazette of the United States*, Philadelphia, and signed "A. T.," probably designating Albert Torrence, Washington's answer is not given. I made exhaustive researches to discover the original document, and after spending considerable time and trouble in the search finally located it in Salisbury, where it had been hidden away in an old trunk and lost to sight and mind for many years.

Mr. Foster's inexplicable statement is doubly erroneous, for the President's answer is reproduced, not once but twice, in my *Washington's Southern Tour*. It is printed in full on page 302; and is reproduced in photographic facsimile on two sheets between pages 308 and 309. If Mr. Foster consulted *Washington's Southern Tour*, one wonders how he could possibly overlook these two copies of the President's answer.

The two misstatements of Mr. Foster are particularly regrettable, in view of the fact that the documents themselves were extant and available, both the originals and also photostatic and photographic facsimiles.

ARCHIBALD HENDERSON.

THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA,
CHAPEL HILL, N. C.
October 1, 1939.

To the Editor:

I wish to clear up two points in my article, "The Career of Montfort Stokes in North Carolina," in the July, 1939, issue of *The North Carolina Historical Review*.

On page 241 I stated in a foot-note that Dr. Archibald Henderson in his *Washington's Southern Tour* added to the names of the signers of the address to Washington appearing in *The State Gazette of North Carolina* (Edenton), July 3, 1791, those of "Montfort Stokes, Charles Harris, and L. Beard." There is no foot-note in his book indicating where he found the last three names and so I could only quote him as authority. Since writing my article I have learned that Dr. Henderson found the original document, bearing the names of all the signers of the address as he gives them, and that this document may be seen in the Washington Papers, Library of Congress. In preparing my article I was unable to consult any of the unpublished manuscripts in the Library of Congress.

I also stated that Dr. Henderson's book failed to quote Washington's reply. I regret that I overlooked the fact that this book contains both a printed statement and a facsimile of the reply.

WILLIAM OMER FOSTER.

CAROLINA INN APARTMENTS,
CHAPEL HILL, N. C.,
Nov. 15, 1939.

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CONTENTS

- ENROLLMENT RECORDS OF THE EASTERN
BAND OF CHEROKEE INDIANS..... 199

GASTON LITTON

- A CENTURY BEFORE MANUMISSION—SIDELIGHTS
ON SLAVERY IN MID-EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY
SOUTH CAROLINA 232

MARGUERITE B. HAMER

- SOUTHERN CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE SOCIAL
ORDER OF THE OLD NORTHWEST..... 237

JOHN D. BARNHART

- UNPUBLISHED LETTERS FROM NORTH CARO-
LINIANS TO POLK—[*Concluded*]..... 249

ELIZABETH GREGORY McPHERSON

- BOOK REVIEWS 267

North Carolina: A Guide to the Old North State—By ROBERT T. THOMPSON; *Five North Carolina Negro Educators*—By JOHN HOPE FRANKLIN; *FOLMSBEE'S Sectionalism and Internal Improvements in Tennessee, 1796-1845*—By JOSEPH CARLYLE SITTERSON; *The Social Philosophy of John Taylor of Caroline*—By C. VANN WOODWARD; *HILL'S Joseph E. Brown and the Confederacy*—By OLLINGER CRENSHAW; *LLOYD'S The Slavery Controversy, 1831-1860*—By CHARLES S. Sydnor.

- HISTORICAL NEWS 281
-

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THE NORTH CAROLINA HISTORICAL REVIEW

VOLUME XVII

JULY, 1940

NUMBER 3

ENROLLMENT RECORDS OF THE EASTERN BAND OF CHEROKEE INDIANS

By GASTON LITTON

INTRODUCTION

At the time of the struggle for American independence the Cherokee Indians were a united people living in the Appalachian South—in the valley of the Tennessee River and in the highlands of the Carolinas, Georgia, and Alabama.¹ Dissension arose within the tribe, however, and from 1800 to 1866 there were at one time or another six distinct groups of Cherokees, each with its own governmental organization, its chief, its council, and its laws.²

This disruption of the Cherokee tribe had its beginning in 1782, when a group of the older Indians who preferred the wild life petitioned the governor of Louisiana for permission to settle on lands west of the Mississippi.³ Authority was granted and during the next few years hundreds of Cherokees who hoped for a return to the old hunting life emigrated to the present State of Arkansas, where they remained until 1828⁴ In that year they were forced to remove to the Indian Territory. Dissatisfaction developed among the Arkansas group and some sixty men and their families, under the leadership of Captain Bowles, or The Bowl, as he was also known, emigrated in the

¹ This phase of Cherokee history has been interestingly told by Brown, J. P., *Old Frontiers*.

² See Litton, Gaston L., "The Principal Chiefs of the Cherokee Nation," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, XV (September, 1937), 253-270.

³ Starr, Emmet, *Cherokees "West," 1794-1839*, p. 129.

⁴ Additional information on the Arkansas detachment of Cherokees may be found in Mooney, James, "Myths of the Cherokees," *Bureau of American Ethnology, 19th Annual Report* (1900), pt. 1, pp. 135-143; and in Foreman, Grant, *Indians & Pioneers*.

winter of 1819-1820 to the Province of Texas, where they settled on the Angelina, Sabine, Trinity, and Neches rivers.⁵

The great body of Cherokees remained in the ancestral lands east of the Mississippi until after the removal treaty of 1835, when they were forcibly ejected from their homes and driven to the Indian Territory, whence the Arkansas branch had gone a few years earlier.⁶ There the two groups were united, with fragments of the Texas band that had survived the routing received at the hands of the Texas army.⁷ They lived as one body politic and social until the outbreak of the War between the States, when the Nation was rent into halves along the lines of earlier factional differences. Until the close of the war there were in the Indian Territory, then, two Cherokee Nations—one, headed by John Ross, which was pro-Union during most of the conflict;⁸ the other, headed by Stand Watie, which was distinctly Southern in its sympathies.⁹ The treaty of Washington of 1866 settled the differences of the two groups of Cherokees, and the relations of the United States with the Cherokee Nation in the Indian Territory were readjusted.¹⁰ A new era in the history of this noble tribe dawned.¹¹

At the time of the general emigration of Cherokees to the Indian Territory, in 1838, a considerable number of the tribe fled into the mountains of Tennessee and North Carolina and refused to emigrate. Strenuous efforts were made by the government to compel them to remove, but, notwithstanding, a considerable number escaped the vigils of the government and

⁵ Little information on the Texas branch of Cherokees has been compiled. Some material is available in Mooney, "Myths," and in Royce, Charles C., "The Cherokee Nation of Indians," *Bureau of American Ethnology, 5th Annual Report* (1887). Considerable secondary material on the activities of the Texas and Arkansas Cherokees has been gathered by Lindsey, Virginia Lee, *A History of the Western Cherokees* (unpublished master's thesis, University of Oklahoma, 1935).

⁶ Phases of the main Cherokee emigration of 1838 have been sketched with abundant citations to original sources of the Indian Office—Foreman, Grant, *Indian Removal*, pp. 229-312.

⁷ The authority for the Cherokees in the Indian Territory is Wardell, Morris L., *A Political History of the Cherokee Nation*.

⁸ In many sources of Indian history are to be found accounts of the life of John Ross, but perhaps the only important single study of this remarkable man, who for nearly forty years was principal chief of his people, is Eaton, Rachel Caroline, *John Ross and the Cherokee Indians*.

⁹ Some of the letters of Stand Watie and other leaders of the Confederate band of Cherokees in the Indian Territory have been edited by Edward Everett Dale and appear in the *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, I, 30-59, and 131-149; VI, 328-347 (January and October, 1921; September, 1928). Other correspondence of these Cherokees has been edited by Doctor Dale and Gaston Litton under the title *Cherokee Cavaliers*.

¹⁰ See Abel, Annie Heloise, *The Indian as a Participant in the Civil War*, and her volume, *The Indian Under Reconstruction*. See also, Wardell, *A Political History of the Cherokee Nation*, pp. 119-176.

¹¹ Wardell, *A Political History of the Cherokee Nation*, pp. 177 ff.

secreted themselves in their native forests and mountains and thus escaped the general exodus of their people. This stranded group soon became a lost and alienated fragment of the once powerful Cherokee tribe of Indians. The federal government abandoned the hope of effecting a removal of these scattered families; army officials were withdrawn from the region and these Cherokees remained in their mountain retreats in a condition of impoverishment and without hope of a better day—a tragic case of neglect.¹²

The first serious and wholehearted attempt of the North Carolina Cherokees to organize themselves with a formal tribal government came in December, 1868, when they met at Cheowa¹³ and adopted a declaration providing that a council be called to elect a chief.¹⁴ After a series of delays this council met on November 26, 1870, at Qualla Town, in Jackson County, North Carolina. On the following December 1 a constitution was adopted and the government of the band was created.¹⁵ A first and a second chief were elected and clothed with the power of governing the whole land of the Eastern Cherokees for a term of not exceeding two years. These men served, however, until 1875. On October 13 of that year, at the Cheowa Council Ground, amendments to the constitution were adopted and the duties and powers of the principal and second chiefs were further defined.¹⁶ Such was the status of the group until 1889, when, by an act of the general assembly of North Carolina, the Indians became a body politic and incorporate under the name and title of the "Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians."¹⁷ Unlike their Indian Territory brothers who relinquished their tribal rights when Oklahoma was admitted to the Union in 1907, the North Carolina Cherokees have retained their tribal government, under modification, until the present. The legislative body of the band is composed of two members elected from each of the five townships on the reservations. According to

¹² One of the best accounts of the origin and condition of this portion of the tribe is Carrington, Henry B., "The Eastern Band of Cherokees of North Carolina," *Extra Census Bulletin of the United States* (1892). See also Kephart, Horace, *The Cherokees of the Smoky Mountains*.

¹³ Now Cheoah, in Graham County, North Carolina.

¹⁴ Carrington, *Eastern Band*, p. 18; Mooney, "Myths," p. 173.

¹⁵ Mooney, *loc. cit.*

¹⁶ Carrington, *Eastern Band*, pp. 19-20.

¹⁷ *Laws and Resolutions of the State of North Carolina, 1889*, Chapter 211, p. 889.

the provision of their constitution the annual or grand council meets the first Monday in October each year and at such other times as it may be called together by the principal chief.¹⁸

The Eastern Band of Cherokees resides on lands in portions of Cherokee, Graham, Jackson, and Swain counties in southwestern North Carolina. The tract now occupied by these Indians, known as the Qualla Boundary, comprises about 65,000 acres and is held in fee simple by the Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians.¹⁹

Comparatively little has been written on the history of the Eastern Band of Cherokees. That is surprising, for, though they did not preserve many records themselves, since most of them during the earlier years were unable to read, there has accumulated a great amount of material that tells in interesting fashion their tragic story. In the claims and cross suits that have for so many years crowded the dockets of the federal judiciary much has been written of the origin of the band, of its economic status, and of the desperate struggle of these people for existence.²⁰ In the records of their agent, preserved in the Indian Office files, is to be found considerable material on this very fascinating phase of North Carolina history.²¹ Though these records are rich in information, the Eastern Band of Cherokees, happily, has another group of records that portrays statistically their numbers and their economic and social condition.

Periodically from 1835, before the regular emigration of the main body westward and the origin of the Eastern Band as a separate unit of the tribe, until the present day federal census

¹⁸ Dr. Harold W. Foght, superintendent of the North Carolina Cherokees, Department of the Interior, Office of Indian Affairs, letter to the author, June 24, 1937.

¹⁹ Carrington, *Eastern Band*, p. 7.

²⁰ Reference is made here to the conflicts between the Eastern and Western Cherokees as to their rights to different tribal funds, and to the difficulties of the North Carolina Cherokees with the lands purchased for them by their agent, William H. Thomas, and for many years held by him as their trustee. The details of this litigation and the failure of Thomas to secure or preserve the muniments of a perfect title to the lands he purchased in their behalf are not admissible to this sketch; nor has any notice been taken of this fact in connection with the description of the census rolls which is to follow.

²¹ The records of the Office of Indian Affairs, from the date of its creation in the War Department until about 1921, have recently been transferred from the Department of the Interior to The National Archives, Washington. Reference in this paper to Indian Office records, except as otherwise indicated, will be understood to refer to those documents now in the custody of the Archivist of the United States. Among the records contributory to a history of the Eastern Band of Cherokees is a large folder entitled "CHEROKEE INDIAN SCHOOL, N. C., Industrial Survey, 1923," in which is listed in some detail information on the individual Cherokee families, the types of houses they live in, the number of acres in cultivation and crops grown, the number of livestock, and remarks on their incomes and condition economically. Photographs of the houses and farms accompany many of the family sketches.

takers have enrolled them.²² The first roll was taken in 1835 and is commonly, and not quite correctly, referred to as the *Henderson Roll*. It is, of course, a census list of the whole Cherokee Nation east of the Mississippi (with the exception of the earlier separated Arkansas and Texas groups) and is a basic census roll. The next roll was taken in 1848, ten years after the general removal and is, obviously, the first roll of the band itself. David W. Siler made the next enrollment, in 1851, which was followed that same year by the Chapman roll and payment list. In 1869 S. H. Swetland took a census. And in 1884 the Hester roll was taken. It was not until 1908 that another census was taken, that one being completed by Frank C. Churchill. Since that time annual census lists of the band have been prepared by the agent and superintendent located at Cherokee, North Carolina.

These census rolls covering the period from 1835 to 1908 are invaluable sources of information concerning family relationships, individual property holdings, and the economic, cultural, and social progress of this portion of the Cherokee tribe of Indians. Since they vary considerably in the type of information they furnish, they will be discussed individually.

"HENDERSON ROLL" OF 1835

Five years elapsed after the passage of the general Indian Removal Act of 1830 before a separate removal treaty was negotiated with the Cherokees. These were years of persistent negotiation by the Federal government, looking toward the emigration of the Indians; they were years of vigorous opposition by the Cherokees to anything having any relation to the Federal government. It is not surprising to observe, then, that Major Benjamin F. Currey and his census takers were to encounter considerable opposition as they made their way among the Cherokees.

The actual enrollment of the Indians seems to have begun in the summer of 1835, several months before the removal treaty itself was finally negotiated. The enrollment of the Cherokees

²² These census rolls, among the records of the Office of Indian Affairs, are in the Division of Interior Department Archives, The National Archives, Washington. Photostat copies of them are on file in the Indian Office and at the agency in Cherokee, North Carolina.

of North Carolina was made by Nathaniel Smith, who entered upon his work early in June of that year.²³ After taking down the names of eleven families, Smith stopped at the home of John Christie, where he encountered some opposition. Smith relates this incident as follows: "He [Christie] refused to give me the number of his family and I found it impossible to proceed in consequence of evil disposed persons having preceded me and spread a report that I had been appointed to enroll them secretly for emigration, that soon other individuals would be on to apprise their improvements & remove them &c."²⁴ Smith appealed to Principal Chief John Ross, who openly had agitated his people to resist removal;²⁵ but the chief was diplomatically and tactfully recalcitrant.²⁶ Smith then addressed an open letter to the Cherokee people in which he replied to Ross and further set forth his purpose in the Cherokee country: "I protest against his refusal and insist that the President has a right to take your numbers in any manner that he may think proper to direct. I do not ask it as a favor but claim it as a right to proceed in taking your numbers and will view your refusal as a direct declaration that you have no friendship for the Government of the United States."²⁷ Nathaniel Smith seems not to have met with any further resistance.

Simultaneously, there were appointed four other census takers, and the work of enrolling the Cherokees was begun in as many other sections. In Georgia the work was handled by George W. Underwood and C. H. Nelson. Regin Rawlins took the census of the Alabama Cherokees. Daniel Henderson, for whom the roll has been erroneously named, did the enrolling for the State of Tennessee.

It is not believed that the other agents had such difficulty in enrolling the Cherokees as did Nathaniel Smith, though C. H. Nelson did record that he "was called upon by an armed force who manifested much feeling with directions that I proceed no further until they were better informed of the object" of the

²³ Nathaniel Smith to Benjamin F. Currey, July 8, 1835, and Currey to Elbert Herring, July 29, 1835, OIA Cherokees East, 1835.

²⁴ Smith to Currey, July 8, 1835, *ibid.*

²⁵ This opinion was expressed by another census taker, C. H. Nelson, who wrote to Currey on July 7, 1835: "I feel safe in saying that Ross, the principal chief, has directed his people not to give in their names or numbers in this state of affairs." OIA Cherokees East, 1835.

²⁶ Ross replied to Smith on June 18, 1835. That letter, together with Smith's inquiry two days earlier, is preserved in OIA Cherokees East, 1835.

²⁷ This letter, under date of June 22, 1835, is in OIA Cherokees East, 1835.

census.²⁸ No other such incidents were found among the Cherokee papers; indeed, by September, Chief Ross himself seems to have changed his opinion with regard to the census. In a letter to Secretary of War Lewis Cass, Major Currey and others said that Ross felt great anxiety to have the census speedily completed, "believing, as he does, that the real number of Cherokees East will exceed the computation heretofore made by the Executive, with the hope occasionally expressed by his associate chiefs that when these facts are made known to the President & Senate, they will consent to increase the amount agreed to be given on a final arrangement with the tribe."²⁹ In urging the completion of the census, Currey and his associates further stated that "To be fully possessed of a knowledge of their [the Cherokee's] number, the number of each man's houses, the number of his farms, with the quantity of land under cultivation, the proportion of tillable land, the mineral resources & water privileges of the country &c, the commissioners would be able to fix a true estimate upon the value of the country in case the whole tribe does not approve of the gross sum fixed upon already."³⁰ Thus is stated, by the census takers themselves, the purpose for which the census of 1835 was taken.

There seems to have been some objection on the part of the Secretary of War to the taking of the census, though he had previously given his verbal approval of the project. The work had progressed so far, however, that the completion of the census would have brought little additional expense.³¹ Departmental authority was granted for the continuation of the work which reached conclusion in Tennessee late in September, 1835, in Alabama about a month later, and in Georgia and North Carolina late in December. The completed census was submitted by Major Currey to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs on February 27, 1836.³²

²⁸ Nelson to Currey, July 7, 1835, OIA Cherokees East, 1835.

²⁹ Currey and others to Lewis Cass, September 7, 1835, OIA Cherokees East, 1835.

³⁰ *Ibid.*

³¹ Commissioner of Indian Affairs Herring wrote Currey and his associates on September 19, 1835, "I do not yet comprehend the necessity for a census." And in Herring's letter of the following September 26, he was substantiated in his views by the President and the Secretary of War, but added, "It is believed that you acted from praiseworthy motives" and "it is not intended to censure you in the least, nor to subject you to any loss for what has been done." Both letters are in OIA Letterbook No. 17, 109-110, and 134, respectively.

³² Herring's acknowledgement of March 17, 1836, OIA Letterbook No. 18, 199.

The census fills 66 pages of a bound volume, size 14½ x 20 inches. Columns of information for each entry fill two pages. Beginning on the left-hand side and continuing across both pages, the sheets are divided into the following columns, so entitled as to be almost self-explanatory: *Heads of families, Indians, Half-breeds, Quadroons and Whites*;³³ *Residence, state and county, and watercourse*;³⁴ *Males, under 18 years, over 18 years; Females, under 16 years, over 16 years*;³⁵ *Total Cherokees*;³⁶ *Slaves, males, females, total*;³⁷ *Whites connected by marriage; Farms; Acres in cultivation; Houses; Bushels of Wheat Raised; Bushels of Corn Raised; Bushels of Wheat Sold; For How Much; Bushels of Corn; Mills; Ferry Boats; Farmers over 18 years; Mechanics over 18 years; Readers in English; Readers in Cherokee; Half-breeds; Quadroons; Fullblooded; Mixed Catawbys; Mixed Spaniards; Mixed Negroes; Weavers; Spinsters; Reservees; Descendants of reservees; Total of 15 & 16; Remarks*.³⁸ An index, later prepared in the Indian Office, accompanies the Henderson Roll.

MULLAY ROLL OF 1848

The second of the Cherokee census lists, and the first of the Eastern Band itself, was made in 1848—ten years after the general removal. John C. Mullay, a clerk in the Indian Office who had volunteered his services in making the enrollment, received from Commissioner of Indian Affairs Medill on August 26, 1848, his instructions to enter upon that work.³⁹ No appropriation was made by law to defray the expenses of taking the census, so the roll was made by Mullay with no other compen-

³³ This roll lists by name only the head of the family; the several persons comprising the family, including the slaves, appear only by numbers under appropriate columns. In this respect the Henderson Roll is not as complete a coverage as some of the other census lists. In no other roll are the names so picturesque; the great abundance of names of animals, of plants, and of the natural phenomena betrays the rich, pastoral life of the Cherokees. A few MacIntoshes and McDonalds reveal a foreign influence.

³⁴ Not all the families of a town or settlement are listed together, but apparently some effort was made to do so. It might be interesting to note, however, that the word *watercourse* is used here; perhaps that was one of the best ways of locating the settlements which must not have been very numerous or very large.

³⁵ As stated in footnote 33, only the head of the family was listed by name. The other members of the family were indicated by total numbers in one of these columns.

³⁶ That is, the total number of Cherokees in a given family.

³⁷ The remaining columns, with the exception of the *Remarks* Column, contain only numerical entries.

³⁸ This column contains a wealth of detail, almost entirely of a geographic or physiographic nature. Infrequently genealogical information is given, but the majority of entries concern the number of acres of tillable land and its appraised value and mention of mining operations or of water-power resources. There are numerous references to gold mines, giving weight to the reason cited by some historians that it was a discovery of gold that hurried the western removal of the Southern Indians.

³⁹ Medill to Mullay, August 26, 1848. OIA Letterbook No. 41, 203-205.

sation than his salary as a clerk, plus his actual and necessary expenses.

The section of the act requiring the census,⁴⁰ as stated by the Commissioner to Mulla, provided that he should cause to be ascertained "the number and names of such individuals and families, including each member of every family of the Cherokee tribe of Indians that remained in the state of North Carolina at the time of the ratification of the treaty of New Echota, May 23, 1836, and who have not removed west of the Mississippi or received the commutation for removal and subsistence. . . . As children born since the ratification of the treaty are excluded by the act, you will be careful not to include any such, requiring in case of uncertainty, the most satisfactory proof as to the date of birth. No white person unless intermarried with a Cherokee prior to the date mentioned, and, if a male, elected or adopted by a formal act of the tribe as a member thereof, will be included."⁴¹

Under these instructions Mulla left Washington on August 30, 1848, and proceeded to the Indian country. By September 11 he had reached Conasauga, Tennessee, from which place he wrote the Commissioner of Indian Affairs that he was leaving the next day for the mountains of North Carolina. "The Indians I learn here are considerably scattered, but I still hope to get through with the work I have undertaken in some two or three weeks."⁴²

Three months later Mulla, with his work still incomplete, wrote the Commissioner that "Owing to some misapprehension on my part, before leaving Washington, as to the extent of country partially occupied by these people and the distances between the several Indian settlements, a greater amount of labor and travel was rendered necessary for this work than I had anticipated. I traveled upwards of 300 miles on horseback among and over immense mountains of the great Appalachian chain. . . . I was gratified to find the Cherokees who inhabit the valleys and coves of this wild, interesting and romantic region, a moral and comparatively industrious people—sober and orderly to a marked degree—and although almost wholly ignorant of our

⁴⁰ *United States Statutes at Large*, IX, 264.

⁴¹ In addition to Medill's instructions to Mulla, see the Commissioner's letter to Secretary of War Marcy, January 11, 1849, OIA Report Book No. 5, 67-8.

⁴² Mulla to Medill, September 11, 1848, OIA Cherokee, M-266, 1848.

language (not a single full-blood and but a few of the half-breeds speaking English) advancing encouragingly in the acquirement of a knowledge of agriculture, the ordinary mechanical branches, & in spinning, weaving, &c."⁴³

Mullay, in this report of his work in enrolling the Cherokees, apparently encountered little difficulty in making the census. He did, however, write of a small band residing on Valley River which refused to give in its names and those of its families, alleging that the census was but a step towards compelling their early removal to Arkansas or the Indian Territory.⁴⁴ For the most part, however, Mullay found excellent coöperation, as evidenced by this comment on his method of making the enrollment: "As my time was somewhat limited, I continued my labors from day to day at the several town houses, and frequently until a late hour at night—the Indians remaining together & amusing themselves at a short distance from my rude work-table in the mazes & circles of their wild & grotesque dances, &c."⁴⁵

After the general enrollment of each town was completed, the names were read to the Indians who were called together for that purpose; and when the work was finished, "the chief and others were requested to notice & enquire if any names had been omitted—all omissions were added, mistakes in names corrected, and all concluded to the entire satisfaction of the Indians."⁴⁶ The roll was revised by the second auditor, upon Mullay's return to Washington, for the purpose of checking the accounts and vouchers for payments made of the commutation of removal and subsistence. An index to the roll was later prepared.

The roll, submitted by Mullay at this time, was not complete. In July, 1849, Mullay was again dispatched to the Cherokee country to make the necessary changes in the list.⁴⁷ The original of Mullay's completed roll has since been lost, but a copy

⁴³ Mullay to Medill, December 14, 1848, OIA Cherokee, M-285, 1848.

⁴⁴ At this time the Secretary of War received a communication from a group of 186 Cherokees who stated that because of "the many frauds which have heretofore been practiced upon us by faithless agents" the Department would therefore please pardon them for respectfully declining to give the census or number of their people. This document, couched in awkward phrases with misspellings that indicate an almost incomprehension of the English language, was a sincere appeal against removal west. See OIA Cherokees C-233, 1848.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

⁴⁷ Luke Lea to Mullay, July 19, 1850, OIA Letterbook No. 43, 299.

made in the Civilization Division of the Indian Office in 1871 has been preserved⁴⁸ and is the roll from which this examination was made. The volume, in poor leather-board binding, size 8 x 13 inches, is an ordinary ledger or daybook, not a specially printed form as some of the rolls are. The information fills two pages which face each other. Beginning at the top of the left-hand page and continuing across the two sheets are the following columns: *Number*;⁴⁹ *Names*;⁵⁰ *Their Ages*;⁵¹ *Remarks*.⁵²

As in the Henderson Roll, two pages were required for the listing of the information on the enrollees; but, unlike the Henderson Roll, there is not the great wealth of economic and social information on the band. Apparently this roll was designed chiefly to serve as a basis for a per capita payment. The Mullay Roll is the first of the several census lists to give the names of each member of the Cherokee families; in that respect it differs from the Henderson Roll and, in consequence, becomes the basic roll of the Eastern Band of Cherokees.

The great predominance of Cherokee names over English forms on the Mullay census, in contrast to the Henderson Roll, might lead one to the conclusion that the emigration of 1838-39 took most of the mixed bloods of the tribe and that those who fled to the Southern Appalachian hills (and, consequently, who are covered by this roll) were predominantly fullbloods. Not all the names are either English surnames or Cherokee forms; a few are descriptive translations. There is not the picturesqueness of translated names as in the Henderson Roll, where an idea seemed to prevail that English equivalents of all Cherokee names should be given. There are many cases where only what we regard as first names are given, such as Nancy, Jenny,

⁴⁸ From a notation on the flyleaf of the roll.

⁴⁹ The enrollment numbers of the Indians are arranged in a strict numerical order. The first entry is number one and the last is 1557.

⁵⁰ The names are grouped by towns or settlements. The name of the head of the family is given first, followed by the names of wife and other members. A record is often made of these relationships to the head of the family, as: "wife of Jim Woodpecker"; "daughter of Jim Woodpecker, died Aug. 1834."

⁵¹ Figures are always given for this column, though certainly they must be only approximations.

⁵² This column is used particularly to record family relationships. Sometimes there are cross references to another entry, as "See No. 115"; or, "Sister ofs wife, Nancy." This column does contain considerable miscellaneous information, such as: "A crippled man"; "killed himself"; "Old Chief, died 1839"; "a blind woman"; "½ breed"; "shot by accident Jan. 1848." Most of the entries are brief, but a few are more detailed and explanatory, like "Woman killed by falling tree in Tenn. in route to Arkansas, 1848." So unusual was the following item that it did not appear in the *ages* column: "Upwards of 100, as is believed."

Betsey, and George. Moreover, the information given by the roll is often so general and brief as to make somewhat difficult a differentiation among the three or four dozen such entries.

SILER ROLL OF 1851

On April 25, 1851, the Secretary of the Interior appointed David W. Siler "special agent to collect information to enable the Department to execute the law of Congress providing for the per capita payment to Cherokees under the Treaty of 1835, so far as relates to those Indians east of the Mississippi."⁵³

In the Commissioner's letter of instructions Siler was advised: "You will be careful to distinguish *males* and *females* and designate heads of families, noticing whether Indian or white, and whether living together as man and wife; specifying the number in each family embracing parents and children and all others of Cherokee descent.

"In view of the fact that a large amount of money will be distributed on the basis of the census you will take and the one to be taken of the Western Cherokees, it is necessary that great caution and discrimination be observed in enrolling all who claim to be Cherokees, allowing none to be entered as such but those justly entitled to be so considered, recording every name accurately, and if any have an English name as well as an Indian name give both; in the case of orphans, in addition to their own names state those of their guardians or the persons having charge of them with their respective localities or places of residence. *White* persons who have intermarried with Cherokees since 23d May, 1836, are not to be regarded as Cherokees.

"To facilitate your operations you will fix upon suitable and convenient localities where you will meet the Indians, issue notices informing them thereof and the times when they are to assemble at the points designated, observing on your own part the strictest punctuality in attending to those appointments & and on no account, except from causes beyond your control, subjecting the Indians to disappointment. Should any of them be unable to meet you at the times and places specified from sickness, infirmity, old age, or any visitation of Providence, you

⁵³ A. H. H. Stuart to Siler, April 25, 1851, Indian Division, Record of Letters Sent, No. 1, 88.

will adopt proper measures to satisfy yourself of their identity as Cherokees and enroll them accordingly, accompany your returns of the census to the Department with a statement of the grounds of your decision in all such cases.

"You are furthermore directed to designate to the Department the places at which it will be most proper and best suit the convenience of the Indians to make the disbursement."⁵⁴

Siler at once entered upon his duties. On May 26 he wrote to the Commissioner from the Cherokee country, asking if he might be furnished with notices of his appointment and a statement of the nature of the work of taking the census. They "might have a very good effect in removing difficulties which mischievous persons may endeavor to throw in the way. I could have them printed and put up at public places throughout the country. I have seen no indications of a disposition on the part of the Indians to withhold their names but I am satisfied that if your instructions should in the least conflict with the wishes of certain designing men that the attempt will be made to stop the business of enrolling until a change of policy can be produced in some way."⁵⁵

Siler met with some resistance in his enrollment duties. Something of that difficulty he explains in this portion of a later letter: "I think it the better way to prevent frauds that all of the inhabitants of a town should be enrolled at the same time, and therefore I determined to employ myself at other places until these more ignorant Indians of North Carolina shall have had a little time to understand the object of my work. By refusing in this way to enroll part of the inhabitants of a town until they all come in I secure the active exertions of the more intelligent not only in persuading the ignorant class but in making the town prompt in my meetings."⁵⁶

After he had worked in the field for several weeks other problems presented themselves, and Siler wrote for additional instructions, especially with regard to those individuals who had both Indian and Negro blood. The Commissioner's reply was

⁵⁴ Lea to Siler, May 24, 1851, OIA Letterbook No. 44, 400-401. Reference in this letter to the census of the Western Cherokees is to the Drennen Roll, prepared under the direction of Colonel John Drennen who was then superintendent of the Western Cherokees. A discussion of this and other census lists of the Indian Territory Cherokees is not within the province of this paper.

⁵⁵ Siler to Lea, May 26, 1851, OIA Cherokee S-653, 1851.

⁵⁶ *Id.*, June 20, 1851, OIA Cherokee S-663, 1851.

that "if they are recognized as Cherokees by their council, you will enroll them as such with some special mark."⁵⁷ Siler was also authorized to employ an interpreter.

The enrollment was completed in the field on September 17, 1851, and Siler returned to Washington. A considerable amount of clerical work remained to be done, and a month passed before Siler was able to submit his final report with the completed census.

The census was copied in an ordinary journal or ledger, size 8 x 13 inches, recently rebound in canvas. This is apparently the original roll, for it bears many evidences of changes and corrections. At the head of the first page is the following title: "A Statement of the Names of Cherokee Indians residing east of the Mississippi River, with a report of the Special Agent to take the Census." The entries are given on a single page (the right hand side of the open book) which is divided into six columns. Beginning on the left hand side of the page, the columns are: *Number and names*;⁵⁸ *Age*; *Relationship*;⁵⁹ *Sex*; *Blood*;⁶⁰ *Remarks*.⁶¹

The last few pages of the roll concern disputed cases, upon which various actions were taken by the Indian Office.⁶² An index, later prepared in the Indian Office, accompanies the census.

CHAPMAN ROLL OF 1851

By acts of Congress of September 30, 1850, and February 27, 1851, appropriations were made for per capita payments to the Eastern Cherokees. On November 20, 1851, Alfred Chapman was detailed from his duties in the Indian Office for the purpose

⁵⁷ Lea to Siler, August 20, 1851, OIA Letterbook No. 45, 81.

⁵⁸ It might seem that the census started at Paint Town, Haywood County, North Carolina, since that is the heading for the first group of entries. The names are grouped by families, each family being given a consecutive number. Opposite the last name of each family group is the total number of members in that family. In addition, there is a cumulative numbering of all the names, beginning with number one and continuing to 1,959. Following his instructions, Siler frequently listed both English and Cherokee names.

⁵⁹ The relationships to the head of the family are given in the usual form.

⁶⁰ The letters I[Indian] or W[hite] complete this column.

⁶¹ This column, with only occasional recordings, contains very little information. The few entries are nearly all concerned with family relationships or such descriptive observations as: "Her husband left her"; "The grandchildren in this family are illegitimate"; "married to a Catawba"; "lives with her grandmother."

⁶² It was learned later that Siler had not enrolled all of the Eastern Cherokees. These Indians, consequently, were then ineligible to share in the per capita payments distributed by Alfred Chapman; and, by an Act of Congress of July, 1854, there was made a small additional roll of these Cherokees for whom a sum of five thousand dollars had been appropriated. *United States Statutes at Large*, X, 333.

of making these payments. The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, in his letter of instructions to Chapman, stated, "I have requested that a requisition be made on the Treasury in your favor for the several sums of \$156,167.19 and \$41,367.31, the former to make the per capita payments per act 27 February 1851 and the latter to make similar payments per act 30 Sept. 1850. . . . Immediately upon receipt of the several sums referred to in the foregoing you are directed to proceed to such point in North Carolina most suitable in your judgment for the purpose, and there commence making the several *per capita* payments in strict accordance with the census roll, calculating the interest in the smaller appropriation up to the day of the payment to each individual Indian, taking his or her order or receipt therefor, save in those cases where payment is made to the head of a family, in such cases the receipt of such "head" will be considered sufficient; and in case of the death of any one whose name appears on the census roll you are instructed to pay over the *per capita* due such deceased person to his or her heirs, or legal representative, the part or parties receiving the same to receipt therefor. Having completed your payments in North Carolina, you will proceed to such other points in the adjoining states as in your judgment will enable you to make the remaining payments with the greatest dispatch."⁶³

Chapman at once entered upon the discharge of this duty. By February 20, 1852, three months later, he was reporting to the Commissioner: "Having received out of the Treasury the sum of One hundred and ninety seven thousand five hundred and thirty four dollars and fifty cents, wherewith to make said *per capita* payments, and having disbursed, as the receipts show, the sum of One hundred and ninety three thousand two hundred and fifty three dollars and nine cents, there was left in my hands the balance of Four thousand two hundred and eighty-one dollars and forty one cents; which, on the 29th of January 1852, I paid into the treasury of the United States at Charleston, South Carolina."⁶⁴

The payment list is in the form of a leather and cloth bound volume, size 12 x 19 inches, with the roll filling 51 pages. The

⁶³ Lea to Chapman, November 20, 1851, OIA Letterbook No. 45, 233-5.

⁶⁴ Chapman to Lea, February 20, 1852, OIA Cherokee C-44, 1852.

pages are divided into the following columns, from left to right: *Number*;⁶⁵ *Name*;⁶⁶ *Amount*;⁶⁷ *Signature of receipts*.⁶⁸

The per capita payments were made to Eastern Cherokees residing in the states of North Carolina, Tennessee, and Georgia. The first payments were made early in December, 1851; the last in January, 1852. There is an index of the "List of Eastern Cherokees paid by Alfred Chapman," dated February 20, 1852. A notation appears on the first page: "Ind. Afs. Nov. 1, 1901. E. B. Henderson," which might indicate that it was a later copy. The volume, size 8 x 14 inches, is an ordinary alphabetical ledger. An index has been prepared which covers the payment list.

SWETLAND ROLL OF 1868-9

By the second section of an act of Congress approved July 27, 1868, it was provided that the Secretary of the Interior cause to be made a new roll or census of the North Carolina or Eastern Cherokees.⁶⁹ In the Commissioner's letter of instruction, S. H. Swetland was told that

It will be your duty therefore to make a new roll based upon that reported by Mr. Mullay, of all Cherokees whose names are embraced therein who are living at the present time; and also, of the heirs and legal representatives of all those who were enrolled by Mr. Mullay and entitled to be paid under the act of July 29, 1848, and who have since

⁶⁵ This is the individual, chronological numbering. The numbers run from one to 2,134.
⁶⁶ These entries are listed first by counties, then by towns. The head of the family is listed first, followed by the other members whose relationship to the head is indicated. Ages are set opposite each name. The families are grouped by brackets, with red lines underscoring the heads, but the groups are not numbered.

⁶⁷ Amount of individual payment.

⁶⁸ A few of the names are signatures; but most of them are written in, perhaps by the enrolling agent, and signed by the Cherokees with their marks. Surprisingly, no signatures were found copied in the Sequoyah Cherokee script.

⁶⁹ On October 30, 1866, the Secretary of the Treasury appointed Dr. R. J. Powell as special agent "to proceed to North Carolina and there to investigate and report upon the condition of certain Indians of the Cherokee Nation . . . with special reference to their loyalty or disloyalty to the United States now and during the late rebellion and report upon the accounts of J. W. Terrell, the last agent of Treasury, charged with the payment of the interest on the annuity set apart for said Indians . . . who at the breaking out of the last war had in hand, as appears on the book of the Department, the amount of \$21,134.96, and report whether the same can be collected." (Treasury Department, *Letters Sent: Special Agents, 1866-1867*, p. 84). Powell entered upon his work; the following January, upon his return to Washington, he submitted to the Secretary a list of the Cherokees. Among the Indian Office records is a volume, the first twenty-one pages of which are missing, that gives indication of being Powell's roll. It appears to be incomplete; certainly, the volume gives little information except the names of the Indians; and it is doubtful if all the Cherokees were enrolled in so short a time. But it might serve as a possible check on the other rolls. On the roll are columns that would indicate that Powell prepared it for use in the payment of the annual installment of interest funds due the Cherokees; but the payment was, by an act of Congress of July 27, 1868, later transferred to the Secretary of the Interior. In that act there were provisions for a new census of the Eastern Cherokees; and, upon that basis, the Swetland Roll was made, which obviated the Powell list. *United States Statutes at Large*, XV, 228.

deceased. These and no other persons will be included in the roll you shall make under these instructions, and you will so arrange it as to exhibit all members of a family under the name of the head of the family, giving clearly the name of each individual, and stating their sex, age, and relationship, as also their place of residence; and in cases of the heirs and legal representatives of the deceased Cherokees referred to, you will take care to state with certainty and precision who was the ancestor in each case, and as nearly as can be ascertained, when and where such ancestor died.

It would be well for you to give public notice in due time preceding your arrival in their country, at such points as may be deemed proper, of the object of your mission, so that the parties interested may be informed when and where to meet you, or to communicate to you such testimony and facts as may be thought to establish their right to be enrolled. In addition to this duty, you are also instructed to take a separate census of all the Eastern Cherokees whether living in North Carolina or the adjoining States, the object being to put the Department in possession of information as to their number, names, and places of residence, and it is desired that in taking the Census, you at the same time ascertain as far as may be practicable, and embrace therein, in a tabular form, statistics as to their wealth in property, products of farming or industrial pursuits, quantity of land cultivated, and horses, cattle &c. owned, as showing their general condition, and means of support.⁷⁰

Swetland reported for duty late in the summer of 1868. Until the following January 9 he was engaged in the work. In his report submitting the completed census, Swetland stated: "To carry out my instructions requiring the census herewith transmitted and also a census showing the entire number of Cherokees east of the Mississippi and their possessions, products and general condition and means of support, required me to visit the states of North and South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, and Tennessee, and to travel over twenty-two hundred miles, four hundred of which had to be made on horseback.

"The larger settlements are in Jackson and Cherokee counties, North Carolina, and some smaller ones in other communities and various points in other states. Your address to said Cherokees was read to each gathering of said people and was received with an evident satisfaction although but a few of them seemed inclined to favor removal west.

⁷⁰ The commissioner's letter, under date of November 10, 1868, appears in OIA Letter-book No. 88, 249-251.

"They are pleased to be again wards of the government and evidently desire to obey her requests, while they confidently look to her as their guardian to aid them in the security and early settlement of all their national and private claims as guaranteed to them by Treaty and Justice. . . .

"The Qualla settlement contains over eight hundred Cherokees, who are fullbloods. The people in the settlement have all the lands that can in any way benefit them, if the titles are secured, and it is the best land in that part of the country. Their improvements are mainly made by themselves and are of fair character. They have a good church and maintain a school with two teachers who teach both languages. They were made very poor during the war by the armies and army thieves, but are regaining stock and farming utensils. Considering their opportunities they compare in comforts, morals and civilization favorably with the white community.

"The Sand Town settlement is small, and but few of them land owners, but those few have titles. Most of this settlement contemplate moving to Cheoah. In Cheoah, or within the mountain range surrounding it there are nearly 400, mostly fullblood. They are all farmers and many of them own land, where not cheated by the whites. They have either titles or bonds for deeds which is, in most cases, fully paid for. Here they maintain a school most of the time and have regular worship on Sabbath. . . . There were only about five hundred who came in at Murphy, many of whom are partly or largely of white blood, and only a portion of which are included in the accompanying Roll. These are scattered and only a few of the full-bloods own lands. . . ."71

Swetland's report is quite detailed. This document is by far the most revealing of all the reports of these special agents appointed from time to time to take the census of the Eastern Cherokees. The difficulties attending the taking of the census were several. This statement, taken from the same report of Swetland, seems significant: "Being again wards of the government and having received many wrongs at the hands of the whites, and looking upon the Agent as a source of wisdom and

⁷¹ S. H. Swetland's report, itself undated by the author, bears a stamp of having been received in the Indian Office on February 1, 1869. It is in the file of incoming correspondence and reports, OIA Cherokees S-44, 1869.

protection far beyond his knowledge or power, they consumed much time in submitting titles for examination, stating grievances, &c., and making their requests that the government should take some course to secure to them titles when they are due, and regain their lands when paid for and lost by fraud.”⁷²

Swetland spoke of the Eastern Cherokees themselves in the following terms: “As a people they are civil, kind, truthful and honest, and evidently desirous of education and Christian culture. Most of the women can sew, knit, spin and weave, and many of the men have some mechanical trade. Their crops are not entirely sufficient for support for want of horses and plows, and yet most every family raised something and many quite large crops, and have some good stock. They use the same class of family implements as the whites which is of an antiquated order.”⁷³

It will be noted that the roll was taken only a few years after the close of the War between the States. This incident is recorded by Swetland in his report to the Commissioner: “At this settlement (at Cheoah) they raised the United States Flag in honor of the Government I represented, and the white citizens of the vicinity on the second night took it down, tore it up, and left a note on my table in the Cherokee School House, declaring that ‘no such damned flag should wave in that part of the Country. Anyone that wanted to revenge it could get a full load.’ This is the only act of disloyalty or hostility I found and belongs to a few ignorant and bad men, respected by none of an intellectual class of people.”⁷⁴

On May 24, 1869, Swetland submitted the completed census to the Commissioner.⁷⁵ The census itself is in the form of a book, 18 x 24 inches in leather and cloth binding. The roll fills 88 unnumbered pages. This is not a specially printed volume, but rather a miscellaneous note or journal book, so ruled to fit the requirements of this roll. There is no title page, but at the head of the first page of entries appears this notation: *General Census as per instructions of Indian Dept. of all Cherokees residing east of the Mississippi River.* Each page, be-

⁷² *Ibid.*

⁷³ *Ibid.*

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

⁷⁵ Swetland to N. G. Taylor, May 24, 1869, OIA Cherokee S-102, 1869.

ginning at the left hand side and going right, is divided into columns headed as follows: *Families*;⁷⁶ *Numbers*;⁷⁷ *Names*;⁷⁸ *Ages*;⁷⁹ *Sex*; *Indian*;⁸⁰ *Breed*;⁸¹ *Estate*;⁸² *Horses*,⁸³ *Mules*, *Cows*, *Oxen*, *Cattle*; *Hogs*; *Sheep*; *Wheat*, *Corn*; *Oats*;⁸⁴ *Rye*; *Read and Write*;⁸⁵ *Parents, living or dead, and other remarks*.⁸⁶

There is an index to the Swetland Roll.

After the completion of the general census of the Cherokee Band, Swetland was ready to make the per capita payments to the Indians. On June 22, 1869, he wrote from Raleigh, North Carolina, that he dared not proceed nearer the mountainous Indian Country for he had been advised that "it was wholly unsafe to attempt to carry money across the mountains . . . [their] being infested with remaining bushwhackers from the army."⁸⁷ He asked for a guard of at least five soldiers. Later, in early July, Swetland reported from Morganton, North Carolina, the arrival of the guards and that they were ready to depart for Asheville.⁸⁸ The payments were made with no apparent difficulty.

A roll of payment of interest due upon the per capita fund of \$53.33 authorized by the fourth section of an act of Congress approved July 29, 1848 was made, concluded and filed, Feb-

⁷⁶ Family groups are numbered consecutively in this column.

⁷⁷ This is the consecutive numbering of the individual Cherokee enrollees.

⁷⁸ As in the previous rolls, the names are listed by family groups, the heads of families listed first and followed by the names of the wife and children. Also, as in other rolls, the family relationships are indicated; but this roll is unlike the others in that two related families are frequently grouped together and listed as one. There is a predominance of Cherokee names, though there are many English forms. English translations appear in parenthesis opposite a few Cherokee names.

⁷⁹ Figures are listed for nearly every entry.

⁸⁰ The word "yes" indicates that the enrollees were Indians.

⁸¹ Such fractions as $\frac{1}{4}$, $\frac{1}{2}$, $\frac{3}{4}$ are noted in this column.

⁸² This column is divided into two sections, *Improved* and *Unimproved*. In these files appear such figures as 15, 20, 50, 55, 65, 75, which apparently indicate acreage. Sometimes these figures are written across both columns which would seem to indicate that the land was both improved and unimproved. There are also notations, such as "Thomas land," "Bought land of Thomas & Paid \$210.00 & was driven off."

⁸³ The following columns contain figures only; and, of course, it is left to the reader to supply the appropriate word, head or bushel.

⁸⁴ After the first page this column is combined with the following one, and the appropriate word is entered before the figure.

⁸⁵ The words *yes* and *no* are the only entries in this column.

⁸⁶ A wealth of information is contained in this portion of the roll. This is a "miscellaneous notations" column, with a predominance of entries concerning family relationships, of which the following are examples: "Lived in Georgia in 1836. Parents dead 20 years"; "son of Will on 1836 Roll, died in '68"; "Baptist preacher & son of . . . on M. Roll." Opposite two sisters' names appears: "Unmarried & live together." Many of the entries concern the residence of the enrollees: "always lived in Settlement"; "lives with aunt"; "in Qualla Settlement." Some of the entries describe the occupation of the Cherokee, as: "a good shoemaker"; "A No. 1 Blacksmith"; "Fine weavers & follow it." And a few entries are strictly odd bits of information: "nearly blind from Fed'l service"; "married his wife in Western Cherokee Nation"; "25 apple trees"; "lives home with her father, has sued for divorce." Perhaps the most complimentary statement of all, somewhat reminiscent of Abou Ben Adam, was made of Tar-qua-tih: "one of the best men."

⁸⁷ Swetland to E. L. Parker, June 22, 1869, OIA Cherokee S-225, 1869.

⁸⁸ Swetland to Parker, July 9, 1869. OIA Cherokee S-252, 1869.

ruary 1, 1869.⁸⁹ It is similar to the Chapman list, and is in the form of a bound volume size 19 x 23 inches, and containing some 55 pages. It is not a specially printed form; but an ordinary blank book ruled to meet the needs of the roll. On the back is a printed title reading *(Copy) Eastern Cherokee Census Roll. 1868-'69—Swetland—From 2d Auditor, 1881*. The material appears on only one side of the page, which is divided into the following columns: *Number*;⁹⁰ *Names of Heads of Families and Individual members of families upon the roll taken by Swetland, Special Agent &c.; Statement as to whether they were enrolled by John C. Mullay; Remarks on Mr. Swetland's Roll; Amount of Interest on the per capita of \$53.33 due from July 29th, 1859 to July 29, 1869. Ten years; We the undersigned acknowledge receipt from, Pay Agent, the Amount of Interest due and set opposite our names & signatures*;⁹¹ *Witness to the payments; Remarks by the Pay Agent and Indian Office*. As can be seen, this is purely a financial record, but should serve excellently as a check on the main Swetland roll.

HESTER ROLL OF 1884

It was not until 1882 that Congress caused another census to be made of the Eastern Band of Cherokees. In the second and third paragraphs of a provision for miscellaneous purposes in the act making appropriations for the sundry civil expenses of the government, eight hundred dollars were appropriated to take the census.⁹² Under appointment from Secretary of the Interior Teller, dated September 26, 1882, Joseph G. Hester entered upon the work.⁹³ His instructions came from the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, who advised Hester on October 12, 1882, as follows: "To assist you in your duty I have caused copies to be made of four previous rolls of these Indians, viz: of that made by John C. Mullay in 1848, that by D. W. Siler in 1851, that by S. H. Swetland in 1868, and that by Alfred Chap-

⁸⁹ *United States Statutes at Large*, IX, 264.

⁹⁰ The information supplied in these columns is of substantially the same character as that furnished by the regular Swetland roll.

⁹¹ The names are written in; few of them, indeed, were signatures of the Cherokees.

⁹² *United States Statutes at Large*, XXII, 328.

⁹³ Mention of the date of that appointment appears in a letter of Commissioner Price to the Secretary of the Interior, January 24, 1884, OIA Report Book No. 47, p. 152-8.

man in 1852. While the last three may be of some assistance the first, that made by Mullay, will be your main guide as to who are entitled to be enrolled by you, as their names should appear on that Roll, if they were alive when it was taken; and all born since should be able to refer to their ancestors thereon, unless they have since become members by adoption. In the latter case the three last rolls will be useful as on some of them the names of those whose claims to be Cherokees by adoption were allowed previous to the taking of the last Census, if there are any, such should appear.

"In like manner, the names of all born since the Mullay Census, and previous to the last Swetland should appear on at least one of the rolls subsequent to the Mullay Roll. All names which appear on these rolls must be accounted for either by entry on the new Roll; note on the old of their having died or that their whereabouts are unknown to you or to any of the Indians, and that you are unable to discover it.

"In reference to any who may claim a right to be enrolled through adoption since the last or Swetland Roll, you will be guided by the custom which may belong to the tribe, taking great care however that each one who presents himself furnishes positive proof that he is a member of the North Carolina or Eastern Cherokees, either by birth or adoption, and is so considered and acknowledged to be by the Tribe, before enrolling them."⁹⁴

The work of taking the census Hester found expensive; and by late December, 1882, he wrote the Commissioner for an additional six hundred dollars, which request in turn was transmitted to the Secretary of the Interior. Congress was requested to make an additional appropriation.⁹⁵ The work of enrolling the names of the Cherokee Indians east of the Mississippi continued. It was late in 1883 before Hester had completed the field work. In his letter transmitting the census, he stated that "the entire roll was read to a council of the most intelligent men of the tribe and fully approved by them."⁹⁶ His roll, he stated in his letter, contained the names of 2,956 persons, members of the

⁹⁴ Hiram Price to J. G. Hester, October 12, 1882, OIA Letterbook No. 179, 118-120.

⁹⁵ Price to the Secretary of the Interior, December 29, 1882, OIA Report Book No. 44, 38-39.

⁹⁶ Hester to Price, November 26, 1883, OIA Letters Received, *Land*, 21642/1883.

Eastern Band of Cherokees, residing in different states as follows:

1881 in North Carolina	8 in New Jersey
758 in Georgia	5 in Virginia
213 in Tennessee	1 in Illinois
71 in Alabama	3 in Kansas ⁹⁷
3 in South Carolina	1 in Colorado
11 in Kentucky	1 in California

The completed roll was then sent for approval to the Secretary of the Interior, with the following statement by the Commissioner: "I believe it to be as correct and complete a list of the Cherokee Indians residing east of the Mississippi at this time as can be obtained and of those who, though not there at present, may properly claim their residence there."⁹⁸ Hester seems to have made a profound impression on the Cherokee people.⁹⁹ A few months after he had been in the field, the principal chief of the band wrote of Hester in the following terms: "For myself and the eastern band of Cherokees permit [me] to thank you for sending to us an agent to take the census, in the person of J. G. Hester. His example among my people has been good, every Indian who has met him speaks of him in praise both on account of his words of kindness and acts of justice. I have been personally [acquainted] with him as Interpreter and witnessed his painstaking effort to make an accurate roll and from what I have seen I am sure a better man for the work could not have been selected. The difficulties attending the making of a correct roll of my people can somewhat

⁹⁷ Agent Hester's justification for enrolling these persons residing west of the Mississippi is stated by Commissioner Price in his letter of transmittal to the Secretary of the Interior, January 24, 1884: "having verified their descent from members of the Eastern tribe whose names appear on the previous rolls and upon his having ascertained from good authority that they had never severed their connection with those in North Carolina, nor affiliated with the Nation West." This letter may be found in OIA Report Book No. 47, 152-158.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹⁹ On February 26, 1884, after the termination of his work and his resignation from the Indian Service, Hester entered into an agreement with the principal chief and other representatives of the Eastern Cherokees, "whereby for the consideration of \$1,400. payable out of any moneys which may be recovered in a suit now pending in the U. S. Court of Claims . . . or out of any moneys appropriated by Congress for the said North Carolina or Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians" Hester agreed "1) to write a historical sketch of the Cherokee tribe of Indians, 2) to translate into English a vocabulary, 3) to translate into English a constitution of the Eastern Band of Cherokees." The Commissioner responded with the following statement that "as its tendency is towards the further civilization of these Indians and the promotion of the use of the English language amongst them, I have approved and respectfully submit the same for the action of the Department." The secretary of the Interior gave his approval on March 1, 1884; but no further reference to the agreement is found in the files. See Price to the Secretary of the Interior, February 29, 1884, OIA Report Book No. 47, 497-8; H. M. Teller to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, March 1, 1884, Indian Division, Record of Letters Sent, No. 34, 421.

be appreciated when we consider the remote and scattered localities of their residence from the railroad and from each other in a mountainous country. My people reside in four different states, North Carolina, Tennessee, Georgia, and Alabama, and can only be reached by private conveyance. Another difficulty is presented in the fact that we have been for a long time living in the midst of and surrounded by two other races of people with whom there has been more or less intermarriage and cohabitation producing a result which makes it very difficult to trace the Indian blood."¹⁰⁰

The census itself is in the form of a bound volume, size 18 x 27 inches. It is in leather-cloth binding; most of the pages are secure, but a few are completely torn loose. This is a printed blank, made especially for the purposes of this census. The information is given on one side of the page only, the roll filling some eighty-eight pages. At the top of each page is printed this heading: "Census List of the Cherokee Indians residing East of the Mississippi River, in compliance with an act making appropriation for the Sundry Civil Expenses of the Government, approved August 7, 1882." Each page is divided into the following columns descriptively entitled: *Hester Roll, 1884*;¹⁰¹ *Previous Rolls*;¹⁰² *Spelling of names as they appear on previous rolls, and those born since last enrollment*;¹⁰³ *Relationship to head of family*;¹⁰⁴ *Sex*;¹⁰⁵ *Age*; *Names of Ancestor on previous rolls*;¹⁰⁶ *Relationship to ancestor*;¹⁰⁷ *Present Place of Residence*;¹⁰⁸ *Remarks*.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁰ Principal Chief N. J. Smith to Price, December 13, 1882, OIA Letters Received, *Accounts*, 23277/1882.

¹⁰¹ This column is for the chronological numbering of each Cherokee.

¹⁰² Space is provided under this heading for the numbers of the enrollees on the previous rolls, that of Mullay, 1848; Siler Roll, 1851; Chapman Roll, 1852; Swetland Roll, 1869.

¹⁰³ This column is divided into spaces for the Indian name and for the English name.

¹⁰⁴ As in previous rolls, the head of the family is listed first, followed by the wife and other members.

¹⁰⁵ In the case of indeterminable Cherokee names, the letters *M* and *F* found in this column are significant.

¹⁰⁶ Not all of these spaces are filled in, of course. A sample entry is: "John Smith MR [Mullay Roll] 1049."

¹⁰⁷ The relationship to an ancestor, if one was indicated in the preceding column, is generally shown by the letters *S* or *D*.

¹⁰⁸ An attempt was made to enroll the Cherokees by settlements. And, frequently throughout the census will appear a notation such as: "Persons named on this sheet 'et seq' reside within the Qualla Boundary, situate in Jackson and Swain Counties, whose post office address is Cherokee, Swain County, N. C." The name of the settlement, of course, changed with each group of entries.

¹⁰⁹ As with other rolls, this column is rich in miscellaneous information about the Cherokees. A great portion of the entries deal with family relationships, such as, "widow of"; "separated wife of"; "the father of these children was a Cherokee"; "twin sister of"; "G-son of Little John." Some of the entries refer to residence of enrollees, or their dates of birth. Some entries list the occupation and profession of the

A letter of transmittal from Hester to the Commissioner, January 5, 1884, is copied in the first few pages of the roll. A letter of certification, dated January 22, 1884, appears at the end of the census; the approval of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs and of the Secretary of the Interior is affixed at the foot of that page. Several supplemental papers are affixed to the roll, including a list of some 37 families whose claims to citizenship were rejected, a list of forty-seven persons enrolled on earlier rolls, who could not be found. There is an index to the Hester Roll.

CHURCHILL ROLL OF 1907

By deed, dated October 4, 1907, the Business Council of the Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians in North Carolina sold two tracts of land situated in Swain County, containing 35,000 acres for the consideration of seven dollars per acre, aggregating \$245,000. The sale was approved by the Secretary of the Interior; and Superintendent Harris, in charge of the Eastern Cherokee school, began at once to prepare a census roll of the North Carolina Cherokees for the per capita distribution of the money derived from that sale.¹¹⁰

On June 24, 1907, Superintendent Harris called the attention of the Indian Office to the difficulty he was encountering in preparing the census.¹¹¹ He reported that the Indian council had decided to reject the claims of all persons for enrollment who had moved into the state of North Carolina since 1874. In response to Harris's request for advice and instructions on this point, he was directed to prepare two rolls—one showing the names of all East Cherokees whom the council was willing to enroll; the other showing the names of all those persons whom claim the right to be enrolled but who have moved into the state since 1874.¹¹²

Cherokee, as "school teacher"; "preacher"; "blacksmith"; "interpreter." And a good many are purely miscellaneous, as: "demented"; "twins"; "This woman died soon after enrollment"; "In penitentiary at Raleigh for three years from Dec. 3d, 1882"; "Half African, Mother was Cherokee"; "Age on M. error, 80 should be 20." Surprisingly enough, there were ten notations stating "at Trinity College."

¹¹⁰ Thomas Ryan, Acting Secretary of the Interior, to Frank C. Churchill, October 11, 1907. Department of the Interior, Secretary's Files: Indian and Land Inspectors, File No. 25-3, pt. 1.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹¹² *Ibid.*

Again, under date of September 23, 1907, the Superintendent reported that but little progress had been made in making up the roll of Eastern Cherokees and that there was poor prospect of its being in shape for use in making the per capita payment to the Indians. Harris complained of his heavy duties and stated that it would take not less than three months' steady work to make up the roll. He urged the Department to send some one to North Carolina especially for that purpose.¹¹³

In response to that recommendation the Secretary of the Interior directed Frank C. Churchill "to enter upon the work of making an authentic roll of the Eastern Band of Cherokees. If, by reason of the conditions mentioned in the Superintendent's reports above referred to, you find it impracticable to complete a single roll which shall contain the names of all the Indians who, in your judgment, are fairly entitled to share in the lands and funds of the Eastern Cherokees, you will prepare and submit for the consideration of the department two rolls in accordance with the instructions to the Superintendent as herein indicated."¹¹⁴

On the 24th of October, 1907, Churchill had arrived at Cherokee, North Carolina, and had begun the work of preparing the census.¹¹⁵ The work progressed; and early in February, 1908, Churchill secured from the Secretary of the Interior permission to purchase three books to be used in the preparation of the census. "When a final Census Roll is adopted, the Indian Office should have the original, and the Band should have a copy . . . and I respectfully recommend a third book like the other two, excepting in less expensive binding, be furnished me in which to submit my report, the last named book to serve as a Memorandum Roll, pending any controversies that may arise."¹¹⁶

On April 22, 1908, at the suggestion of Inspector Churchill, Principal Chief John Goins convened the council, to which was read the completed roll. This roll was accepted by the Indians; and was submitted to the Secretary of the Interior on May 20,

¹¹³ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁵ Churchill to Ryan, May 20, 1908, Department of the Interior, Secretary's Files: Cherokee School, Enrollment, Memorandum 5-59 from File No. 5-1, pt. 1.

¹¹⁶ A publishing firm in Asheville, North Carolina, furnished the three books at a cost of twenty-four dollars to the Department.

1908, with the following statement: "The Chief and numerous members of the Band submitted very earnest requests that I make it known to the Department that they are very much in need of money. They neither ask nor expect that all that is now due them from the sale of their lands be distributed at this time, but say a few dollars paid to each person now would be of almost inestimable benefit to them, particularly to the old and infirm.

"I desire to add that these Cherokees may be safely classed as good people. They are poor, their land is poor, and many of the Indians are old, some are blind and otherwise incapacitated from earning a living. Indeed, there are few opportunities in that part of North Carolina where they live for them to earn money, and they are obliged to depend upon their sterile little farms."¹¹⁷

The census itself is in the form of a cloth-bound volume size 18 x 23 inches. Preceding the actual census list is a letter of transmittal from Churchill, giving a detail account of the action taken by the Cherokee council upon the roll. Two photographs of members of the council and committee who passed approval upon the roll appear in the front of the volume. At the head of each page of the census list is the following printed heading: "Census Roll of the Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians of North Carolina, 1908." Each page is divided into the following columns: *Marginal Reference*,¹¹⁸ *Churchill Roll*,¹¹⁹ *Council Roll*,¹²⁰ *Hester Roll*,¹²¹ *Indian Name*,¹²² *Relationship to Head of Family*,¹²³ *Sex*,¹²⁴ *Age*,¹²⁵ *Degree of Indian*

¹¹⁷ Churchill to the Secretary of the Interior, May 20, 1908, OIA Cherokee School: 034-47148/1909.

¹¹⁸ Apparently used by the inspector and the copyists for clerical checking purposes, only.

¹¹⁹ The consecutive numbering of the Cherokees on this roll.

¹²⁰ The reference here is to the "list of names which are deemed proper for enrollment as members of this Band of Indians," prepared by a committee of the Council of the Eastern Band of Cherokees, and known as the "Harris, Blythe & French Census Roll, 1907."

¹²¹ Space is provided for the enrollment number of the Cherokee on the Hester Roll, if he was enrolled at that time.

¹²² There is a predominance of English names over Cherokee forms, which is odd in comparison with the earlier census lists.

¹²³ The customary identifying words appear in this column, and some of them are not so fitting; for example, what relationship to the head of the family could be deduced from the two notations appearing in the column: "idiotic"; "feeble-minded"!

¹²⁴ The indication is simply *M* or *F*.

¹²⁵ The ages of infants is indicated in fractions of a year, thus: 3-12, 6-12, and so forth.

Blood,¹²⁶ *Parents' No. on this Roll*,¹²⁷ *Present Residence*,¹²⁸ *Remarks*.¹²⁹

The completed census was accepted by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs and by him referred to the Secretary of the Interior who gave his approval on August 17, 1908.¹³⁰ No index to the Churchill roll was prepared.

GUION MILLER AND LATER ROLLS

Congress by an act of June 30, 1906,¹³¹ appropriated over one million dollars, with interest thereon, to pay the judgment rendered by the Court of Claims on May 18, 1905, in the case of *The Cherokee Nation vs. The United States*.¹³² Guion Miller was appointed by the court as a special commissioner for the purpose of making a distribution of that fund.

Miller, in his report to the Court of Claims filed on May 28, 1909, stated that 45,857 separate applications were received, which represented a total of about 90,000 Cherokees. Of these he enrolled 30,254 as being entitled to share in the fund, 3,203 of these residing east of the Mississippi River and 27,051 living in the West, for the most part in newly-formed state of Oklahoma. The records of this enrollment, which form a part of the records of the Court of Claims, now in The National Archives, are somewhat more bulky than the previous Cherokee rolls. The files of applications are arranged according to a serial or application number. The application form gives detailed genealogical information on the applicant, tracing his ancestry back to the roll of 1835, and often includes additional or substantiating documents. There is an alphabetical index of applicants. Re-

¹²⁶ The following fractions give an idea of the entries of this column; 1-8; 3-8; 5-8; 1-4, 3-4; 4-4; 1-16; 7-16, 9-11; 13-16; 15-16; 1-2, and so forth. Question marks appear after some of these entries.

¹²⁷ This column is divided into a space for the numbers of the father and for the mother. For many of the cases this is unnecessary, for the names of the parents appear often directly above them; but for some of the older enrollees whose parents were not living with them, this additional information could be a time-saver and aid in tracing family relationships.

¹²⁸ There was not the grouping of names by towns or other settlements, as with some of the other rolls. Rather, the plan seems to have been to follow the Council Roll, which did not list the members strictly by towns. Some of the entries are in pencil; interrogation marks follow the names of some post offices, and the word "unknown" appears on some.

¹²⁹ The word *miscellaneous* best describes these entries, which vary from notations of family relationships, places of residence, occupations, and places of employment to dates of death, per quantum of Indian blood, references to intermarriage with Negroes, and marital status.

¹³⁰ From the letter attached at the end of the census.

¹³¹ *United States Statutes at Large*, XXXIV, 664.

¹³² *Court of Claims Reports*, XL, 252-448.

port books give the action taken upon each case. Accompanying these files are additional records, including testimony taken on individual Cherokee cases, receipts for Treasury warrants, and a miscellaneous file of exceptions.

Miller, in certifying the Cherokees, depended considerably upon the previous census rolls, copies of which were prepared for his use and are now filed with the other records in the Court of Claims. The roll itself, it should be stated, is in printed form. The roll is separated into two groups, those residing east of the Mississippi and those living in the West. A supplemental roll of January 5, 1910, accompanies the main enrollment.

The Churchill census of 1908 scarcely had been completed and approved by the Department, and the tremendous work connected with the Guion Miller payment had not been terminated, before the Office of Indian Affairs was besieged with applications for adjustments of Eastern Cherokee enrollment questions. For the most part, those appeals were of a few individual families and, as such, did not affect the great membership of the band or its enrollment lists. Under instructions from the Secretary of the Interior of November 18, 1910, Charles L. Davis was directed to "take up the work of investigating and reporting upon all challenged applications and any new applications for enrollment that might be submitted." Three years later, on August 29, 1913, O. M. McPherson was appointed special agent by order of the Assistant Secretary of the Interior to make investigations of a similar nature.¹³³ The reports submitted by these men concerned only a few Cherokee families. And, though in the case of the Davis investigation an entirely new roll was made, a further discussion of these findings is not deemed necessary.¹³⁴ The changes were a few individual ones, not of great importance to the whole tribal membership; and, since they were made so soon after a legal census provided for by act of Congress, their historical value among the other census and enrollment lists of the band is relatively small.

¹³³ The report of special agent McPherson, received in the Indian Office on May 8, 1914, is part 3-C of OIA Cherokee School: 034-47148/1909.

¹³⁴ The roll prepared by Davis, which is described in several communications from the Commissioner to the enrolling commission later headed by Baker, contained 2,115 names. The roll, which is recorded as having received Departmental approval on April 29, 1913,

Agitation for another census of the Eastern Band of Cherokees did not become strong until 1924. But on June 4 of that year, in an "Act Providing for the Final Disposition of the Affairs of the Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians of North Carolina," Congress provided for the taking of a new roll of the members of the band.¹³⁵ The census was to show the name, age, sex, and degree of Cherokee Indian blood. The "said roll when approved by the Secretary of the Interior shall be final and conclusive as to the membership of the band," except for clerical changes relating to the name of such members or to sex designations which might be made at any time.

Under a letter of November 3, 1925 James E. Henderson, superintendent of the Eastern Band, and A. W. Simington, special allotting agent, were designated by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs as a committee for the purpose of making the roll.¹³⁶ They were instructed to enroll only those members of the tribe that were alive on June 4, 1924. In conjunction with the members of the tribal council, from the prior rolls and other available records at the agency, the commissioners were directed first to prepare a list or tentative roll containing the names of those members of the tribe about whose right to membership no controversies appeared or existed. In the more doubtful cases the applicants were urged to present written evidence by affidavit or otherwise and, later, to present their claim in person or through an attorney. To the end that the preparation of the final roll should not be unduly delayed, March 1, 1926 (later extended fifteen days) was taken as the last day upon which applications were to be considered. The necessary application forms and other blanks were submitted to the committee and the work was begun. The membership of the commission underwent changes during the next few months; upon the resignation of Superintendent Henderson on May 8, 1928, the work of enrolling the Cherokees was placed directly under Fred A. Baker, who completed the work and for whom the roll is named.

does not appear among the records of the Office of Indian Affairs now in The National Archives.

¹³⁵ *United States Statutes at Large*, XLIII, 376.

¹³⁶ This letter, bearing the file number L-C 93679-24, is in a folder with other miscellaneous Baker census records.

The completed roll, which was approved by the Department on January 26, 1931, contained the names of 3,146 Cherokees. The records making up the census are quite bulky, and include 3,833 cases. Each case includes an application blank, on which is given the name, and past and present places of residence of the applicant; information concerning the applicant's ancestors, and his enrollment numbers on previous Cherokee rolls. Attached to the applications are affidavits, form letters stating that the applications have been recommended for enrollment; or form letters listing the appropriate reason for rejection. Frequently, a letter recording an appeal for a re-examination of the case accompanies the rejection. Often, in those rejected cases, additional documents intended to identify the applicant as a Cherokee are attached. Notations appear on these applications of the action taken.

There is a numerical list of the applications; and an index of ancestors and witnesses. The contested and appealed cases are indexed. Folders of briefs of counsel accompany files of correspondence with the applications, which contain both original incoming letters from the Cherokees and the carbon copies of the replies of the commission. There exists, too, a small file of those who failed to furnish applications but whose cases came to the attention of the commission and were properly considered.¹³⁷

The census itself, which is based on these records and which is a list of the cases accepted for enrollment, is in a bound volume on a specially printed form. Each page is headed: *Final Roll of the Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians of North Carolina; under the Act of June 4, 1924 (43 Stat. 376)*. Each page is divided into the following columns: *Marginal Reference*;¹³⁸ *Final Roll No.*;¹³⁹ *Churchill Roll No.*;¹⁴⁰ *Hester Roll No.*; *Family name*;¹⁴¹ *First Name*; *Relationship to Head of Family*;¹⁴²

¹³⁷ These records are among the Indian Office files now in The National Archives. The roll itself is still on file in the Indian Office.

¹³⁸ A column used for clerical notations in checking the names.

¹³⁹ The consecutive numbering of the names.

¹⁴⁰ In this and the next column are listed the numbers of the Cherokees on the earlier rolls.

¹⁴¹ The names are listed alphabetically; so, of course, there is no need of an index to the roll.

¹⁴² The usual family relationships are noted; and, occasionally, such other terms as: *divorced*; *widow*; *single*; *3rd wife*.

*Sex; Age, 1920; Date born;*¹⁴³ *Degree of Cherokee blood;*¹⁴⁴ *Degree of Other Indian Blood;*¹⁴⁵ *Remarks.*¹⁴⁶

The Fred A. Baker Roll was prepared with the view of its constituting the final roll of the band. There have been, however, other census lists of the Eastern Cherokees. In fact, almost annually since 1908, as one of the general requirements of the Indian Office, census lists of the Eastern Cherokees have been prepared under the supervision of their agent. The first of these agency rolls was prepared in 1909 by Superintendent Frank Kyselka. A specially printed form, supplied by the Indian Office and used by virtually all the Indian agencies, was followed in the preparation of the Cherokee census. It contained the following columns: *Number; Indian Name; English Name; Sex; Relations; Age.*

This series of manuscript census lists for the Eastern Cherokees for the years 1909 to date is fairly complete. The form has varied slightly from time to time; recent ones have been much enlarged. The 1929 form contained, in addition to the aforementioned columns, spaces for *allotment, annuity or identification number; date of birth; degree of Indian blood; marital condition;* and the 1931 form was enlarged still further to include information on the *residence and jurisdiction where enrolled.* Some of the lists contain recapitulations of the census, showing the numbers of able-bodied, of mentally or physically deficient, of full bloods, mixed bloods, and other interesting totals. As sources of information on more recent conditions among the Eastern Cherokees these census lists from 1909 to the present year are of significance; certainly, they are invaluable as tribal membership lists.

The comment on the more recent departmental census rolls raises the question of the relative value of the other and older census lists. Culturally, the rolls might be of interest to the Cherokees; and for the same reason they should be of interest to the historian. Several of the older rolls, as has been seen, give detailed statistical information on the number of livestock,

¹⁴³ The Miller and Baker rolls are the only ones that give complete dates of birth. It may be assumed that the keeping of vital statistics of the Cherokees dates only to a few years prior to the Miller census.

¹⁴⁴ The following fractional notations appear: 1-8; 1-16; 1-32; 1-64.

¹⁴⁵ There are a few entries noting a mixture of Catawba blood; but, for the most part, this column is blank.

¹⁴⁶ As with the other rolls, this column contains general miscellaneous information, show-

farms, houses, and on those who speak and write English. As basic and official surveys of the Eastern Band of Cherokees taken periodically for a century, these rolls should be the foundation of, and incentive for, the writing of a detailed history of this interesting remnant of a once powerful and always proud and noble people, who figure significantly in the story of the great state of North Carolina.

ing illegitimacy; family relationships; references to errors in previous enrollments; marriages to Catawbas, Negroes, whites. But the majority of the entries, by far, are of cases "Contested" by the tribal council. Of the 3,146 persons listed by the enrolling commission as being entitled to enrollment as members of the band, the representatives of the tribal council approved the enrollment of only 1,924 persons. The other 1,222 persons are designated by the word "contested" with appropriate remarks. A roll of deceased East Cherokee annuitants, who died prior to June 4, 1924, accompanies the main roll.

A CENTURY BEFORE MANUMISSION

Sidelights on Slavery in Mid-Eighteenth Century South Carolina

By MARGUERITE B. HAMER

The seventeen hundred and fifties saw the production of rice and indigo as flourishing industries in tidewater South Carolina. The tasks inherently difficult and dangerous became the more so in the long and intensely hot summer months. Negro slave labor was indicated. The foreign slave trade came to be accounted "one of the principal sources of wealth to the Carolina importing merchant of the eighteenth century."¹

Charleston received slaves from the Caribbean islands, especially from Barbadoes and St. Kitts, and from the coasts of western Africa. The sloop *Prince George* used to reach South Carolina "directly from the River Gambia." The snow *Elizabeth* imported Negroes from the "Guiney" coast. One such slaver was the *Success*,² of one and the same name with the later convict ship of Botany Bay note.

"Gambia slaves were the favorites." Angola Negroes brought good prices, and Gold Coast blacks were highly valued.³ The last were sometimes imported by way of the West Indies, but they were advertised as "really Gold Coast negroes bought at Anamboo" and as such entitled to great care and special favors. A blanket apiece was allotted to them and even "negro cloth" for clothing. "The Boat Negroes" were not permitted to go "amongst the Plantation slaves."⁴

In June, 1755, "the slave trade was very brisk." Some "New Negroes" sold each for 300 pounds currency and some at 40 pounds sterling.⁵ "People come from all quarters to give 320 and 325 pounds per head for slaves."⁶ "Men that were tolerable" sold for from 280 to 300 pounds currency each.⁷ At a sale in the summer of 1755 "there were purchasers enough to have

¹ Wallace, David Duncan, *Life of Henry Laurens*, p. 72.

² *South Carolina Gazette* (Charleston), 1755-1757, *passim*.

³ Wallace, *Laurens*, p. 76.

⁴ MS. Henry Laurens Letter Book, June 26, 1764, in Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

⁵ Wallace, *Laurens*, p. 78.

⁶ MS. Laurens Letter Book, Laurens to Joseph Browne, Geo. Town, June 29, 1764.

⁷ MS. Laurens Letter Book, Laurens to John Knight and Co., Liverpool, September 5, 1755.

taken off more than one thousand slaves."⁸ Early in 1756 the sale of twelve slaves totaled 2,610 pounds currency, and the women and girls commanded as high a price as the men.⁹ Even "the most mangy creatures that were ever seen" brought 24 pounds sterling.¹⁰ "Many refuse slaves" were dumped in adjacent markets, especially at Georgetown.¹¹

Slave property was resold with the same complacency that accompanied the disposal of any other marketable commodity. Such advertisements as these are frequent in the public press: "To be sold—a choice parcel of plantation negroes, a parcel of horses, cattle and hogs";¹² "To be sold at public vendue all the estate of Rev. Mr. James Rymer—consisting of some choice negroes, horses, cattle, household furniture, and a good collection of books."¹³ Another notice listed for sale "a parcel of choice slaves, plantation tools, household goods and about fifty or sixty head of fine cattle."¹⁴ The slaves were sold "to good safe men for ready money or produce of Pitch or Rice deliverable presently or upon Bonds bearing interest."¹⁵ Henry Heywood's estate advertised two "wenches," two handy boys, and a girl, for whom "credit" might be given, but advised that "the property" would not be "altered" until the money was paid or security given.¹⁶ Negro property was subject at this time to a tax of one shilling six pence per slave.¹⁷

Considering the original cost and the upkeep of the slave, it is not surprising that less opulent owners hired out their property by the day, week, or month, and collected the earnings. Jacob Martin was anxious to realize on the services of his Negro, Tom, "a good bricklayer."¹⁸ Thomas Smith, Junior, wanted to hire out two Negro carpenters and a Negro woman who could

⁸ *Ibid.*, Laurens to Wells, Wharton, and Doran, St. Kitts, August 12, 1755; D. D. Wallace, able biographer of Henry Laurens, slave trader, suggests that the importers exaggerated the financial profits of the trade the better to attract English capital. Wallace, *Laurens, passim*.

⁹ *Ibid.* Samuel Satterwaite and Jones, Barbados, to Henry Laurens, January 31, 1756. In 1848 male slaves in Louisiana would sell from \$780 to \$800 each and females from \$600 to \$670 each. Stephenson, Wendell Holmes, *Isaac Franklin, Slave Trader and Planter of the Old South*, pp. 109, 222, 228; in 1849 in Louisiana the "total appraised value" of 320 slaves was \$90,350. Stephenson, Wendell Holmes, *Alexander Porter, Whig Planter of Old Louisiana*, p. 125.

¹⁰ Quoted in Wallace, *Laurens*, p. 78.

¹¹ MS. Laurens Letter Book in Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Laurens to Joseph Brown, Geo. Town, July 21, 1764; *ibid.*, to Samuel Wragg, August 21, 1764.

¹² *South Carolina Gazette*, December 16, 1756.

¹³ *Ibid.*, November 20, 1755.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, October 23, 1755.

¹⁵ MS. Laurens Letter Book, Laurens to Samuel Wragg, Geo. Town, July 13, 1764.

¹⁶ *South Carolina Gazette*, November 27, 1755.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, September 4, 1755.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, September 23, 1756.

cook, wash, and iron "extraordinarily well."¹⁹ The business of hiring out slaves was encouraged by persons who needed such transient help. A plantation at Ponpon desired "a Negro wench" who could "cook, bake, and wash well."²⁰ Not infrequently the slave pocketed for himself his daily wage. A "negro fellow, Cuffee," boldly hired himself out "without his master's knowledge" and so "defrauded" the owner of the wages.²¹

Owners were further defrauded when property took to its heels and fled the place. Slaves ran off singly or in groups. Sambo, Tom, and a wench, Jambo, attempted escape only to be captured and retained on a plantation whose proprietor notified the newspapers of their presence. Often fugitives were delivered to the work house in Charleston, there to await their lawful claimants.

Rewards were promised to retrievers of the vagrant property. Stephen Cater offered 40 pounds for the return of his "mustee wench, Bess."²² Rawlin Lowndes's advertised reward reads: "five pounds for a tall slender negro fellow above twenty years of age." William Smith offered 10 pounds for his escaped negro "if taken within this province and twenty pounds if out of it."²³ Three pounds sterling awaited the captors of "London," while 10 pounds was the sum fixed for the return of Caesar of St. Thomas's Parish. Prince, "well known as Bullock's Prince," rated 20 pounds reward. The like sum was offered by James White for the return of Peter. Five pounds sterling apiece was fixed for the recovery of five Negroes from Purrysburg—an insulting enough offer in view of the fact that all "spoke English, French, Spanish, and German," the last-named language acquired possibly from the master, Ehrhardt.²⁴

The fugitives were identified by certain distinctive marks. Sue, "a yellow wench," was "Bermuda born"; Cupid, who was "West Indian born," had a "very black complexion" and further belied his name by a "sullen ill-natured countenance."²⁵ Many of the slaves were "lately imported from Africa." Tom, "a lusty well-set Angola negro," spoke tolerable English, whereas

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, September 30, 1756.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, October 30, 1756.

²¹ *Ibid.*, September 23, 1756.

²² *Ibid.*, October 23, 1755.

²³ *Ibid.*, October 14, 1756.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, June 26, 1755.

²⁵ *Loc. cit.*

Flora, "a strong Angola negro," spoke "very bad English."²⁶ One "Gambia negro" was "middle sized," of a "yellowish Complexion," and of "remarkable grey eyes and smooth skin." The "new negroes" often bore their tribal markings. "Pawly" was marked down his temples and cheeks with three parallel curved lines.²⁷ "An Ebo new negro girl" was marked "upon her breast and belly, down her arms and across her forehead and cheeks."²⁸ Where primitive mutilations were wanting, the white man added his brands literally. Masters burned their initials into African flesh. William Jones branded Harry with a "W on his right cheek and a J on his left."²⁹ Charles Cattell decorated "Dublin" on both breasts with two C's. Instead of cheek or breast, the buttocks might be seared. Prince was branded on the left buttock with the letters T I, and Jack with a combined M and W.³⁰ A Negro who called himself "Little One" had the letters M H burned into his right shoulder. One Negro woman had her back "much marked by whipping and her stomach and belly burnt."³¹

Often added to tribal markings, brands, or mutilations, appeared such obstacles as "shackles"³² or an "iron upon each leg."³³ Harry was "taken up" bearing a "chain and padlock on his neck," while Wally was "lame in one knee from small shot."³⁴

The penalty for the runaway extended even to death without trial. The master seems to have had the power of life or death, as in the case of other living property. Owner Mary Ellis advertises: "Whoever takes the said wench Catherine dead or alive and delivers her to me shall receive a reward."³⁵ Another such notice in the public press reads: "if the negro shall resist the person endeavouring to apprehend him—the subscriber will give the same reward to any person who shall kill him."³⁶

Out of an experience of many years as a Carolina slave trader,

²⁶ *Ibid.*, July 8, 1756.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, December 11, 1756.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, July 15, 1756.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, September 30, 1756. The custom of branding letters on the cheeks of victims recalls Star Chamber punishments prior to 1641, when Puritan faces might be seared *SL-Seditious Libeller*.

³⁰ *South Carolina Gazette*, August 25, 1757.

³¹ *Ibid.*, December 11, 1756.

³² *Ibid.*, June 23, 1757.

³³ *Ibid.*, October 14, 1756.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, February 3, 1757.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, February 17, 1757.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, June 26, 1755.

Henry Laurens resolved in about 1763 "to drop the traffic."³⁷ The stress of Revolutionary times with their wild assertions of freedom of sorts enlisted this from his pen: "I abhor slavery—I am devising means for manumitting them [my slaves] — Great Powers oppose me—the laws and customs of my country, my own and the avarice of my countrymen."³⁸

³⁷ Wallace, *Laurens*, p. 94.

³⁸ MS. Laurens Letter Book, Henry Laurens to John Laurens, Charleston, S. C., October 14, 1776.

SOUTHERN CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE SOCIAL ORDER OF THE OLD NORTHWEST

By JOHN D. BARNHART

Two main cultures or ways of life had come into existence in the South by the end of the eighteenth century. They were the results of geographic forces, conditions of settlement, and the various kinds of people who had come to live in the South. Along the seacoast and extending westward to the piedmont was the domain of the planter. Although it contained many small farmers, the tenor of affairs in this area was largely determined by the planters. Its economic activity was characterized by the predominance of agriculture based upon servile labor and large scale production of staple crops for distant markets. Politically, it represented a judicious confinement of democracy to the well-born, who showed a sincere attachment to and ability in the public service. Religiously, it was generally identified with the Episcopal church and deism. Socially, it was an order of ladies and gentlemen whose wealth and servants made possible wide reading, the cultivation of the art of leisure, extensive and lavish entertainment, and a genuine appreciation of all that constituted good living. Established families passed on prominent names, broad acres, plantation homes, and pride of lineage. It was an aristocratic way of life which reflected in its balls, dances, horse races, and fox hunts, an emulation of the life of the English country gentleman. To be sure the emulation was more usual than was the achievement, but the ideal ruled this most picturesque of American societies.¹

In the upland area beyond the fall line was a yeoman society that had grown out of the first frontier of the United States. It was founded by a southward migration of Germans and Scotch-Irish and a westward movement composed largely of members of the yeoman class from the coastal plain. It was a self-sufficient, individualistic, and democratic society, based upon free

¹ Chevalier, Michel, *Society, Manners and Politics in the United States*, pp. 114-15; "Southern and Northern Civilization Contrasted," *Russell's Magazine* (Charleston, S. C.), I (1857), 97-100; "Letters from the West," *Port Folio* (Philadelphia), XIII, 58. (1822), 94-96; Eggleston, George C., *Recollections of a Varied Life*, pp. 46-56, 73-74; Adams, Henry, *History of the United States*, I, 131-34; Phillips, Ulrich B., *Life and Labor in the Old South*; Turner, Frederick J., *Rise of the New West, 1819-1829*, pp. 45-66; Turner, Frederick J., *The United States, 1830-1850*, pp. 144-209.

labor. It contained a strong religious element composed of Quakers, Scotch-Irish Presbyterians, and other more democratic sects, such as the Methodists and Baptists. A number of large landowners with their slaves were to be found in the Valley of Virginia and in the piedmont, but they represented an invasion by the society of the coastal plain and not that of the Appalachian region. Like the society of the Middle states it was marked by variety and greater religious toleration. But it was unique in its lack of loyalty to a particular state tradition and it was often antagonistic to the older area which controlled the state governments. It contained many individuals who had defended their homes against the Indians and who had already moved several times in search of greater opportunities.²

Each of these societies was in a state of expansion. The plantation was invading the Gulf coastal plain, the piedmont, the Valley of Virginia, and the Bluegrass basins of Kentucky and Tennessee. The invasion of the highland province produced a clash of cultures, of aristocracy versus democracy, of slave labor versus free labor, of masters and slaves versus a free white society, and the ideal of the country gentlemen versus that of the yeoman class.³

This invasion of the upland South accentuated the existing antagonism and the dispersion of the yeoman society. Large numbers moved through the mountains into the Ohio Valley, not stopping until they resided under the protection of the Northwest Ordinance where slavery and planter aristocracy would be less likely to follow. Some of these emigrants remained critical of the planter civilization.

Within this migration there was a pronounced diversity. There were natives of many of the states and of several European nations. There were adherents of many churches scattered among the indifferent, the ungodly, and the lawless. An

² Hall, James, *Sketches of the History, Life, and Manners in the West*, I, 216 ff.; II, 55 ff., 66, 83, 193; Bacot, D. Huger, "The South Carolina Up Country at the End of the Eighteenth Century," *American Historical Review* (New York, 1895) XXVIII (1922-1923), 682-98; Turner, Frederick J., *The Frontier in American History*, pp. 67-125; Hanna, Charles A., *The Scotch-Irish, or the Scot in North Britain, North Ireland, and America*, 2 Vols.

³ Olmsted, Frederick L., *A Journey in the Back Country*, pp. 55-87, 180, *et passim*; Chevalier, Society, *Manners and Politics in the United States*, pp. 109-24; Jameson, J. Franklin, (ed.), "Diary of Edward Hooker, 1805-1808," in *American Historical Association, Annual Report*, 1896, I, 878; Phillips, Ulrich B., "The Origin and Growth of the Southern Black Belts," *American Historical Review*, XI (1905-1906), 798-816.

occasional son of a planter family sought greater opportunities in the new land or went out to fill some government office. But the vast majority were farmers lured by the cheap lands of the West, where they hoped to preserve and improve a way of life that seemed increasingly difficult in the South. The first pioneers of this migration were so affected by wilderness conditions that their ways of life were dominated by the frontier and not by the culture of the older sections. Although there were many variations which shaded imperceptibly into one another, it is possible to distinguish among those who followed the early pioneers two major cultures, that of the upland South and that of the lowland South. While subject to other influences these immigrants sought to establish in their new homes the institutions and usages which had become customary, necessary, or ideal in their older homes. The Southern contributions to the social order of the Old Northwest, therefore, included a large part of its early settlers and the ways of life which they carried with them.

The early pioneers of the Southern migration played an important part in the formation of the society in the Old Northwest. Excepting the French, the early settlers came largely through the valleys of the Southern Appalachians. They accomplished much of the work of conquering the Indian, making little settlements, carving out of the forests their little farms, marking the trails and roads, and demonstrating the value of the land.⁴ Many of these pioneers passed on to new frontiers, but some were left behind who seemed unable to progress beyond the frontier stage. They preserved the customs, the language, the stories, and that shiftlessness and lack of sustained energy which are understandable on the frontier, but which mark them as unfitted for the new life which sprang up after the frontier was gone. It is impossible to know what significance to attach to their early residence in mountain isolation, to the presence among them of inferior types descended from the least worthy of the white servant class of the Southern colonies; or to disease, dampness, and the poorer quality of the land upon which they settled; but the "poor whites" of South-

⁴ Farnham, Eliza W., *Life in Prairie Land*, pp. 200, 328-31; *The Home Missionary* (New York, 1829-1909), III (1830-1831), 172.

ern Indiana and Illinois represent one of the social problems contributed by the Southern migration.⁵

If these pioneers were the pathfinders of civilization, the many farmers, who came especially from the upland South, laid the foundations of the new culture and made important contributions to its structure. The Northwest Ordinance prevented a large migration of slaveholding planters. The New Englanders did not settle in large numbers in the years before 1825 and only in Ohio were they numerous enough to secure concessions in the formation of the first state constitution.⁶ The foreign element direct from Europe was not large and the Middle state migration was made up of elements most similar to those of the upland South. Consequently the migration from the latter area was predominant and its customs and institutions formed the basis of the new civilization.

This early society was a white man's society. It was composed of farmers, who with the aid of their neighbors cleared the land, fenced it with Virginia rail fences, built their houses and barns, tilled the soil, and harvested the crops. The "women folks" kept house, made their own and their family's clothing, and helped with the milking and other chores about the house and barn. "Although folks had to be their own niggars,"⁷ as one person phrased it, labor was not a badge of servility.

Having migrated considerable distances for the purpose of preserving their white society as well as improving their own status, these immigrants were hostile to all forces that threatened that society.⁸ Among these forces were the possible expansion of slavery north of the Ohio River, the extension of the system of indentured servitude as a substitute for slavery, the

⁵ Kellar, Herbert A., (ed.), *Solon Robinson, Pioneer and Agriculturist*, I. 100-04; Eggleston, George C., *Recollections of a Varied Life*, pp. 7-8, 11-12; Hall, *History, Life and Manners in the West*, p. 54 ff.; Parkinson, Daniel M., "Pioneer Life in Wisconsin," in State Historical Society of Wisconsin, *Second Annual Report and Collections* (1856), 326-64, see 327; Power, Richard L., "Wet Lands and the Hoosier Stereotype," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XXII (1935-36), 33-48; Reynolds, John, *My Own Times*, pp. 40-44.

⁶ For the New England migration into the Old Northwest, see Mathews, Lois K., *The Expansion of New England*; Kofoid, Carrie P., *Puritan Influences in the Formation Years of Illinois History*; Buck, Solon J., "The New England Element in Illinois Politics Before 1833," in Mississippi Valley Historical Association, *Proceedings, 1912-1913*, pp. 49-61. Barnhart, John D., "The Southern Influence in the Formation of Ohio," *Journal of Southern History*, III (1937), 28-42.

⁷ Hall, Baynard R., *The New Purchase*, p. 51.

⁸ "Benevolus," *Edwardsville, Illinois, Spectator*, May 24, 1823; "The Western Country," *Kaskaskia Illinois, Western Intelligencer*, March 25, 1818; Strickland, W. P., (ed.), *Autobiography of Peter Cartwright*, p. 244; Chaddock, Robert E., "Ohio Before 1850, A Study of the Early Influence of Pennsylvania and Southern Populations in Ohio," in *Columbia University Studies in History, Economics and Public Law*, XXX (1908), 189-341, see 264-98.

coming of considerable numbers of freed Negroes into their local neighborhoods, and the abolitionists who made a rather general attack upon Southern customs as well as upon the institution of slavery in the nation at large. In their new homes these transplanted Southerners were determined to keep out the Negro, whether slave, indentured servant, or freedman, and they objected to the abolitionist as well as to the proslavery advocate.

In the first constitutional conventions of Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, the issue of slavery was scarcely raised in a direct manner.⁹ Perhaps this was due to the fear that its introduction might prevent the proposed admission of the new states. The opportunity of emulating the life of the country gentleman, of developing their states by inducing a migration of wealthy slave-owners, and of acquiring servants to perform menial tasks about the home, appealed to many but not to the majority. The sharp practices of the proslavery party in Illinois in 1822-1824 indicate a more or less conscious realization that the majority opposed their efforts.¹⁰ While there were former Southerners on both sides of the controversy, it is significant that many of the leaders of the antislavery group were from the South and that two prominent political leaders from the Northeast made proslavery records.¹¹ Some of the citizens of Illinois apparently had performed patrol duties in Southern states to protect their families and property from the vagaries of the slaves of their

⁹ "Journal of the Convention," in *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly*, V (1897), 80-132; "Journal of the Convention of the Indiana Territory," in *State Bar Association of Indiana, Report of the Sixteenth Annual Meeting* (1912), 137-231; "Journal of the Convention," in *Illinois State Historical Society, Journal*, VI (1913-1914), 355-424; Barnhart, John D., "The Southern Influence in the Formation of Indiana," *Indiana Magazine of History*, XXXIII (1937), 261-76, see 272; Barnhart, "The Southern Influence in the Formation of Ohio," *Journal of Southern History*, III, 28-42 especially 41-42. The opposition to slavery is reflected in the following: *Western Intelligencer*, April 1, 1818 ("A Republican"); *Illinois Intelligencer*, July 1, 1818 ("Agis"), July 29, 1818 (D. P. Cook), June 7, 1823, July 9, 1824, ("Republican"), July 23, 1824 ("Honestus"); *Spectator*, May 31, 1823, June 28, 1823, August 16, 1823, October 4, 1823, June 8, 1824, June 29, 1824, November 16, 1824. "A Mechanic" in *Spectator*, July 18, 1824, called Negroes a race of "Enemies" and showed hostility to "purse proud nabobs," and "haughty masters of a hundred slaves." "Jonathan Freeman" (Morris Birkbeck) made a clever appeal to the poorer Southerners in *Spectator*, November 1 and 8, 1823. See also Chillicothe, Ohio, *Scioto Gazette*, August 28, 1802, and September 11, 1802, *et passim*; and Vincennes, Indiana, *Western Sun*, January 27, February 3, March 2, 30, April 20, May 3, 11, and June 1, 1816. Flint, Timothy, *Recollections of the Last Ten Years*, (1932) p. 57.

¹⁰ These practices are reflected in the *Illinois Intelligencer* from June, 1823, to August, 1824, and the *Spectator* from December, 1821, to December, 1824, for instance November 11, 1824.

¹¹ Leaders in the antislavery party who were natives of Southern states included Edward Coles, Ninian Edwards, Nathaniel Pope, and Daniel P. Cook. Elias Kent Kane, a native of New York, was one of the leaders of the convention party; John Messinger, a native of Massachusetts, voted in the convention of 1818 in support of the system of indentured servitude, but opposed the conventionists of 1823-1824; and Conrad Will, a native of Pennsylvania, was a conventionist in 1823-1824. See *Spectator*, April 6, 1824 ("A Farmer").

wealthy neighbors and they wanted no repetition of that experience.¹² Fear of competition and lower standards of living also contributed to their opposition to slavery.

The very strict limitations placed upon the system of indentured servitude, which effectively prevented its development, would seem to indicate that a major part of this early society was sincerely anti-slavery. The opponents of black indentured servitude brushed it aside as slavery, but the two were not identical. At its worst, indentured servitude was a form of limited slavery, but the determination to preserve a free white society led to its rejection even in a mild form.¹³

The presence of undisciplined, ignorant, and lazy freedmen introduced more or less serious social problems and threatened the purity of the white civilization.¹⁴ The black code of Illinois has been regarded as absurd because the Negro population was so small. If it is considered as a bulwark against the immigration of large numbers of freed Negroes, however, its absurdity is not so evident.¹⁵ The discussion of the Negro problem attendant upon the framing of the Illinois constitutions of 1818 and 1847 indicates how determined the people were to keep out the Negro.¹⁶

The attitude toward abolitionism was a natural reaction to the conduct of the abolitionist and the fear of the freed Negro. The question of slavery in Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois had been settled before the abolition movement began. But too often the abolitionist recognized very slight virtue in those who had made this decision and, with an air of religious superiority, assailed them for not accepting his leadership in an attack upon the institution in the South. Many of the former Southerners regarded slavery with favor, others did not object to it in the South,

¹² *Spectator*, May 17, 1823, August 9, 1823, November 8, 1823.

¹³ Ohio Constitution of 1802, Art. VIII, Sec. 2; Indiana Constitution of 1816, Art. VIII, Sec. 1, Art. IX, Sec. 7; Illinois Constitution of 1818, Art. VI, Sec. 1, 2, and 3; Thorpe, Francis N., (comp.), *Federal and State Constitutions* . . . , II, 980, 1068; V, 2909.

¹⁴ *Spectator*, May 31, 1823, June 28, 1823, August 16, 1823, October 4, 1823; *Illinois Intelligencer*, July 1, 1818, June 7, 1823; *Niles' Weekly Register* (Philadelphia), XI (1817), 313; XXX (1826), 416-17; XXXXIX (1835), 76; Harris, N. Dwight, *The History of Negro Servitude in Illinois* . . . , pp. 54, 136, 233-34, 240-41.

¹⁵ Philbrick, Francis S., (ed.), *The Laws of Indiana Territory, 1801-1809*, in Illinois State Historical Library, *Collections*, XXI (1930), cxxxi-ccxxviii; Ford, Thomas, *A History of Illinois, from Its Commencement as a State in 1818 to 1847*, pp. 32-35; Harris, *Negro Servitude in Illinois*, pp. 50-58, 227-42.

¹⁶ *Illinois Intelligencer*, July, 1817, to December, 1818 (before May 27, 1818, was known as *Western Intelligencer*); Cole, Arthur C., (ed.), *The Constitutional Debates of 1847*, in Illinois State Historical Library, *Collections*, XIV (1919), 170, 201-06, 208, 212, 216-19, 223-38, 854-63. See also Sturtevant, Julian M., Jr., (ed.), *Julian M. Sturtevant, an Autobiography*, pp. 215-16.

and many had relatives among the Southern slaveowners. Still others believed that the idealization of the Negro by the abolitionist would likely result in a large influx of Negroes if emancipation became general. Ignoring these different viewpoints, the New England missionary decried the confusion and anarchy caused by the lack of religious uniformity; the ignorance of the preachers; the inadequacy of the schools; the wickedness, laziness, and intemperance of the people; and their inhumanity in refusing to join in a campaign for immediate and unconditional emancipation.¹⁷ It was not only an attack upon plantation society but upon the existing way of life which the immigrants from the upland South had established in the Old Northwest. The New Englanders failed to distinguish between these two Southern social orders, to ally themselves with others who were opposed to slavery, and to estimate the difficulties of inducing a people to give up their own ideals and to accept a New England civilization. One writer opposed this last as impossible and undesirable in communities born under a different star. "The civilization of the . . . region on the north side of the Ohio River, which was settled by Southern and Middle state people, . . . has evolved out of the healthier elements of its own native constitution."¹⁸ It is questionable whether the New Englanders achieved as much social advance as social antagonism. It is not surprising that

The Virginians look
Upon them with as favorable eyes
As Gabriel upon the devil in paradise.¹⁹

Important contributions were also made in the field of religion by this migration from the upland South. Over the same routes, accompanying or following closely the earliest pioneers, came the representatives of the churches. This was true of the Methodists and Baptists.²⁰ The transference of large Quaker com-

¹⁷ *Home Missionary*, XVIII (1845-46), 43, 190-92, 230-32; XIX (1846-47), 174-75, 179, 202, 228; *The American Missionary* (New York), IX (1855), 30-31, 67, 86; *Prairie Farmer* (Chicago), III (1843), 94; Sturtevant, *Sturtevant*, p. 167; Harris, *Negro Servitude in Illinois*, pp. 58, 241.

¹⁸ Eggleston, Edward, *The Graysons, a Story of Abraham Lincoln*, p. 76.

¹⁹ "Going to the South," *Illinois Monthly Magazine* (Vandalia, Illinois, and Cincinnati, Ohio), II (1832), 418; Sturtevant, *Sturtevant* pp. 214-15; Eames, Charles M., *Historic Morgan and Classic Jacksonville*, p. 47.

²⁰ Strickland, *Autobiography of Peter Cartwright; Journal of Rev. Francis Asbury, Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church*, 3 Vols.; Sweet, William W., *Religion on the Frontier: The Baptists, 1783-1820*, pp. 18-57 et passim; Sweet, William W., *The Rise of Methodism in the West, being the Journal of the Western Conference, 1801-1811*.

munities from North Carolina to Ohio and Indiana was quite significant.²¹ A much smaller church that spread north of the Ohio carried in its name, Cumberland Presbyterian, evidence of its Southern origin.

Characteristic of this migration was a variety of religious sects which had resulted from the number of nationalities among these immigrants and their previous religious experience. In some instances they or their ancestors had come to America to escape religious and political persecution, but in Southern colonies they had found an established church and a government in the hands of a planter aristocracy. On the frontier there was freedom and their religious individualism soon expressed itself. The multiplicity of sects is illustrated by contrasting what was called the harmonious and united Christian communities of New England with Bloomington, Indiana, where the Presbyterians were divided into six rival churches.²²

The expansion of the frontier churches was directed by ministers who were generally referred to as uneducated. So far as formal education was concerned this was true, but they were trained and fairly well prepared for work on the frontier by their older brethren. Their education consisted, according to one of their number, of knowing how to escape the perils of Indians, floods, robbers, rowdies, wild animals, bad food, and cold beds. They had "to endure the weariness of five thousand miles of horseback riding in a year, with five or six hundred preachings," as they followed the streams and penetrated the forests of the West.²³ They were men of the people and they did not always deserve the criticism of the educated ministers, and yet their influence was a barrier to the coming of a more enlightened and cultured type of religion.

During the migration through the mountains of the Southwest the Great Revival took place and the camp meeting became a usual means of propagating the faith. As the movement spread into the Old Northwest revivalism and emotion-

²¹ Weeks, Stephen B., *Southern Quakers and Slavery, A Study in Institutional History*, in *John Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science*, extra Vol. XV, 246-285.

²² Woodburn, James A., "The Scotch-Irish Presbyterians in Monroe County, Indiana," in *Indiana Historical Society, Publications*, IV (1910), 435-522. Contrast this picture of Bloomington with Sturtevant, *Sturtevant*, pp. 160-63, and the remark "what wicked desecration of churches into sects . . .," in *Home Missionary*, XIX, 179.

²³ Eggleston, Edward, *The Circuit Rider: A Tale of the Heroic Age*, p. 184.

alism became the prevailing characteristics of the churches and an integral part of this Ohio Valley society.²⁴

Although persons from more orderly and cultured societies saw much of the lawlessness of the frontier life and the excesses of the camp meetings, there were various groups whose religion was as sincere and as vigorous in restricting their conduct as was true of similar elements in other societies.²⁵ This is illustrated by the sincerity and simplicity of the Quakers, by the strictness of the "Old School" Presbyterians and the "Hard Shell" Baptists, and by the Methodist opposition to dancing, the wearing of jewelry, card playing, and other worldly amusements. With some it was simple intensity, with others it became a fierce religiosity. Although these groups attempted to restrict the actions of others, each was too small to control effectively the conduct of non-members, or to combat with great success the forces of evil which surrounded them.

The emphasis of the churches upon salvation by faith, the growth of the more liberal churches, and the rise of new sects had democratic connotations. The belief in the spiritual contact of the individual with God, and the use of lay preachers, who gained their living by farming or other work, tended to prevent the ministry from becoming aristocratic.

The connection of these churches with the migration from the upland South, the variety of sects, the uneducated ministry, the emotionalism of their revivals, their inability to control the conduct of others, and the democratic tendencies of their doctrines meant that religion had been reduced to the level of the common man.

Although the social order of the plantation South was not transferred to the Old Northwest, it made important contributions to the new society. There were too few members of this class in the population and the handicaps, geographical, political, economic, and social, were too numerous to be overcome by so small a migration. Most noticeable was the failure of the plantation economy to take root. Large estates were not unknown, tobacco and cotton were raised, and slaves were held in

²⁴ Cleveland, Catherine C., *The Great Revival in the West*; Sweet, *The Baptists*, pp. 609-16.

²⁵ Sweet, William W., *Religion on the American Frontier*, Vol. II, *The Presbyterians, 1783-1840*, pp. 99-126, 550-78, 827-87; Sweet, *The Baptists*, pp. 58-76; Eggleston, *The Circuit Rider*, pp. 99, 159, 174.

this area.²⁶ On the other hand, cotton and tobacco did not have the same relative position as in the South, and slaves were neither numerous nor used in gangs in the fields.

Nevertheless, members of the planter families brought social ideals and customs north of the Ohio and these influences tended to mellow the hard life of the frontier and to develop a higher culture. Perhaps the use of the term "plantation" in place of "farm," and the naming of family estates as was customary in the South, was evidence of these aspirations.²⁷ Homes were established where good living was highly appreciated and where hospitality was "at once a duty, a pleasure, and a happiness." A more natural and friendly attitude toward life tended to exclude the narrow puritanism which strove to crush out not only what was evil, but much that was innocent and salutary. There were dinners, balls, dances, and horse races, while fox hunts were not unknown.²⁸ Over these households, where such social life was found, there presided ladies whose training had been received on Southern plantations or in Southern finishing schools. A traveler in Illinois wrote, "After dinner I had the honor of being invited to tea at the home of Governor Bond where I, for the first time in the new world, found myself in the company of distinguished ladies."²⁹ After the capital of Illinois was moved to Springfield, the society of that western community centered around the Edwards' family, which had come from Maryland, and the Todd sisters, who were from Kentucky. It was in this group that Lincoln met Mary Todd, whom Beveridge described as "spirited, vivacious, witty, entertaining," and accomplished, but "burdened with a furious temper."³⁰ In the households of several of the early leaders of Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois were slaves or servants, who labored to maintain the entertainment and hospitality for which these

²⁶ *Spectator*, April 19, 1823; *Niles' Weekly Register*, XXIV (1823), 50; XXVIII (1825), 115, 178; XXIX (1825), 13, 37, 83, 165, 178, 208, 215; Howells, William C., *Recollections of Life in Ohio, from 1813 to 1840*, pp. 131, 135; Reynolds, John, *The Pioneer History of Illinois . . . to the Year 1818*, p. 346; *The Revised Code of Laws of Illinois . . .* (1829), pp. 174-83; Norton, Margaret C., (ed.), *Illinois Census Returns, 1810, 1818*, Illinois State Historical Library, Collections, XXIV (c. 1935); Norton Margaret C., (ed.), *Illinois Census Returns, 1820*, Illinois State Historical Library, Collections, XXVI (c. 1934).

²⁷ *Western Sun*, July 14, 1816; McCormack, Thomas J., (ed.), *Memoirs of Gustave Koerner, 1809-1896*, I, 309; Reynolds, *Pioneer History of Illinois*, pp. 299, 311-13, et passim.

²⁸ Reynolds, *Pioneer History of Illinois*, pp. 185-93, 316-17, 324-25, 344-46; Reynolds, *My Own Times*, pp. 40-44, 53; McCormack, *Gustave Koerner*, I, 309-311.

²⁹ Ernst, Ferdinand, "Travels in Illinois in 1819," in Illinois Historical Society, *Transactions*, 1903 (1904), pp. 150-65, see 152.

³⁰ Beveridge, Albert J., *Abraham Lincoln, 1809-1858*, II, 9-12; Reynolds, *Pioneer History of Illinois*, pp. 165-66.

homes were noted. In general these families passed on a tradition of culture, pride of lineage, and a code of conduct becoming ladies and gentlemen that added an element of quality, polish, and dignity to a society that was often rude and common. Sometimes this culture became a little thin, but even then it was not without value. "Judge Watkins" was described by Edward Eggleston as believing that "the substantial distinction of a gentleman consisted in being of a 'good family,' and preferring to lose one's life rather than to suffer the reproach of falsehood or cowardice."³¹ It is possible today to find, in places unsuspected, an aristocratic bearing, a dignity, and a sense of personal honor that can be traced back through generations to Kentucky or Virginia or other Southern states. Without this infusion of Southern gentility the society of the Old Northwest would have been much poorer.

Although citizens of all sections were attracted to political offices, the aspiration of Southern gentlemen for a governmental career and the prominence of the "Virginia Dynasty" in the national sphere help in explaining the number of former Southerners who became political leaders in the Old Northwest. In the early years of the eighteenth century groups of leaders were formed which bore resemblance to similar groups in Southern communities. Around Nathaniel Massie, Thomas Worthington, and Edward Tiffin in Ohio there developed the "Chillicothe Junto" that organized the first constitutional convention. A little later there arose in the vicinity of Vincennes, Indiana, the "Virginia Aristocrats" who aided William Henry Harrison in governing the territory. Likewise in Illinois there was the Edwards's faction. Whatever intentions these leaders may have had, the great predominance of the poorer people made necessary the democratization of politics.³²

Consequently the political life of the early period saw not only a transference of Southern customs and institutions to the Old Northwest, but a selection and a modification in the direction of greater democracy. The institutions of local government were taken in a modified form from those which had developed in the

³¹ Eggleston, *The Graysons*, p. 247.

³² See discussion and references in Barnhart, "Southern Influence in the Formation of Ohio," *Journal of Southern History*, III, 28-42, and in Barnhart, "Southern Influence in the Formation of Indiana," *Indiana Magazine of History*, XXXIII, 261-76.

South.³³ The state constitutions were very similar to those of Kentucky, Tennessee, and Pennsylvania. Democratic methods were quite prevalent such as liberal suffrage provisions, frequent elections, and legislative supremacy, while property qualifications, aristocratic tendencies, and protection of slavery were rejected.³⁴ The functions of government were not expanded, perhaps, because of general poverty, the recollection of planter control in the older Southern states, and the influence of Jeffersonian principles. Although the leaders were often men who aspired to emulate in some respects the less democratic social and political order of the plantation South, the ideals which were followed were, in the main, those of the upland South.

The Southern contributions to the social order of the Old Northwest affected the sectional alignment of the Mississippi Valley.³⁵ The pioneers marked the pathways from the South and proved the quality of the land. The emigrants from the upland South carried with them the ideal of a white man's society; hostility to the Negro and to aristocracy; and a religion that was evangelical, emotional, democratic, and too diverse to permit undue clerical control. Some of those who admired the civilization of the Southern planters, whether conscious of their actions or not, would have made this area a part of the South. That they succeeded in establishing a tradition of friendliness between the two sections is undisputed. Together these sons and former residents of the South constructed a civilization that resisted in important aspects the later New England migration and founded a borderland between the lower Mississippi Valley with its planter domination and the upper Mississippi Valley with its New England way of life.

³³ Hall, *History, Life, and Manners in the West*, II, 197; Greene, Evarts B. "Sectional Forces in the History of Illinois," in Illinois State Historical Society, *Transactions*, 1903, pp. 75-83; Shaw, Albert, "Local Government in Illinois," in *Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science*, I, No. 3 (1883), 1-19; Bemis, Edward W., "Local Government in Michigan and the Northwest," *Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science*, I, No. 5 (1883), 1-25; Fairlie, John A., *Town and County Government in Illinois, A Report of the Joint Legislative Committee of the 47th General Assembly*, II, 26-35; Philbrick, *Laws of Indiana Territory, 1801-1809*, pp. cix-cxxxiii.

³⁴ See the various provisions of the first constitutions of Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois in Thorpe, *Federal and State Constitutions*, II, 972-85, 1057-73; V, 2901-13.

³⁵ Turner, *Frontier in American History*, pp. 197-98.

UNPUBLISHED LETTERS FROM NORTH CAROLINIANS TO POLK

EDITED BY ELIZABETH GREGORY MCPHERSON

[*Concluded*]

FROM ROMULUS M. SAUNDERS

Paris Sep^r. 1 1847

My dear Sir

I regret that I am constrained to ask you the recall of Mr Reynolds as Secretary of the Legation at Madrid—

You will learn from the despatches written on my departure, that I left him in charge of the affairs of the Legation, with the express instructions that all communications to the government of Spain, and the department upon important subjects were to be made by me— If by M^r— Reynolds after advising with me or through me

Some weeks after my departure and after the termination of the affair about the Privateer — he applied, to have those instructions changed, so as to allow him to make his communications directly without my intervention — This I declined — You will learn therefore with surprise, that since my return to this place and within the last ten days— I have got possession of several of his despatches sent here to be forwarded without any calculation of my seeing them & that upon important and delicate subjects— In his despatch No 17 which from the nature of the subject will be laid before you— as you will see, not content with the duties of Minister he has assumed to himself those of Secretary of State— You will also see from my note to M^r— Buchanan²⁷⁰ of this date in forwarding despatches No's 20— 23 & 24 I have been forced to express my disapproval — I cannot ask you to read those lengthy papers— but you will learn from M^r— B— they contain the most delicate charge against M^r— Calhoun — reflections upon the inefficiency of M^r— Irving²⁷¹ & abuse M Calderon²⁷² —that his despatches about the Palace question not only contains remarks in regard to the Queen grossly scandalous but charges the Duke de Laudemayer a gentleman of high character of American descent of advising assassination — all this scandal I heard long since— which M^r Reynolds has picked up as second hand — which I did not credit at the time and do not believe, & which I never thought for a moment of publishing into a public despatch — From this you will see I have been forced to put on file my disapproval of his conduct— which he has

²⁷⁰ James Buchanan was Secretary of State.

²⁷¹ During President Tyler's administration, Washington Irving was ambassador of the United States to Spain.

²⁷² Calderon was minister from Spain to Mexico.

persevered in, in violence of instructions & throughout has treated me with marked disrespect— I cannot therefore consent to a renewal of our social relations— And indeed he has exhibited such feelings toward others & such a propensity for scandal — that I do not consider myself or my family as safe in the hands of such a man

You will recollect the circumstances under which he was appointed²⁷³ so that I think I may say he has acted towards me with gross ingratitude I know that I am asking you to do an unpleasant thing, but really with all of Mr— Reynolds talents, I do not consider him a proper person for his station— and as I shall be forced hereafter to hold with him only an official intercourse, it will be extremely unpleasant to say nothing of the public interest.

Should you decide to recall Mr— Reynolds I am willing to take any man you may see fit to send— But as it is important that the Secretary should speak both the French & Spanish language—I would respectfully recommend Arthur L. Payson as in every respect qualified, He was for some time with your brother at Naples was during the last winter with me at Madrid, was highly useful & popular— He is now in England, or has returned to the United States— A letter to the care of the Post Master at Boston will find him & as his father²⁷⁴ who was the American Consul I believe in Italy now resides in the neighborhood of Cambridge—I shall write to him—

I regret to say that the indisposition of my family has detained me this long—

I am Sir

Very truly yours

To

The President of
The United States

FROM WILLIAM DAVIDSON

Charlotte N. C Sep^r 29th. 1847

His Exce^l.

Ja^s. K. Polk. Pres^t. U.S.

D^r Sir

Permit me to tender to you My sincere thanks for the Honour shown me in appointing my grand son Jo^s. D. Blake²⁷⁵ a midshipman

²⁷³ For reference to the appointment of Thomas C. Reynolds as secretary to the legation of the United States at Madrid, see Saunders to Polk, July 22, 1845.

²⁷⁴ John L. Payson was chargé d'affaires at Messina, Italy, during the administration of President Tyler. *Official Register of the United States* (1843), p. 14.

²⁷⁵ J. Davidson Blake entered as a midshipman, September 9, 1847; passed midshipman, June 15, 1854, and master, September 15, 1855, and became a lieutenant the next day. He resigned February 5 1862. Callahan, Edward W., ed., *List of Officers of the Navy of the United States and of the Marine Corps, 1775-1900*, p. 60.

He has received His Orders, and leaves to day for Washington City & his new place of destination where I hope he will do credit to Himself, his friends & his country

I am with sincere respect

Your ob Sv^t

FROM LUCIUS J. POLK

New York Oct. 28, 1847.

My Dear Sir

I take the liberty of introducing to you Mr. Frederick A. Sawyer²⁷⁶ of Louisiana; Mr Sawyer is a North Carolinian by birth & an old college friend of mine, if you can be of any service to him you will much oblige your friend and relation.

With my best respects to Mr^s Polk I [am]

very truly yours &c.

FROM WILLIE P. MANGUM²⁷⁷

Mr. Mangum presents his respects to the President & accepts with pleasure his invitation for Thursday next, to dinner

20th— Dec^r 1847

FROM WILLIAM H. HAYWOOD, JR.

[1847?]

To the President of the U.States

Dear Sir

My friend and kinsman W^m. S. Ashe²⁷⁸ of Wilmington N.C will hand you this. I take pleasure in introducing him to your acquaintance and you will I know take pleasure in showing him such attention as your public engagements permit you time to do.

If this were not an open letter I would tell you how much I esteem the bearer. It is no flattery to say he is the leading Democrat of

²⁷⁶ Frederick A. Sawyer was the son of Enoch Sawyer of Camden County. Enoch Sawyer made provisions for the education of his sons. Frederick was a student at the University of North Carolina in 1820. In 1832 he was a member of the house of commons in the state legislature. According to tradition he moved south and never married. Will of Enoch Sawyer, Camden Courthouse, North Carolina; Grant, *Alumni History*, p. 547.

²⁷⁷ For a sketch of Willie P. Mangum see *The North Carolina Historical Review*, XVI (1939), 439 n.

²⁷⁸ William S. Ashe was a state senator from New Hanover County in 1846, 1848, and 1858. *A Manual of North Carolina* (1913), p. 724.

McKay's District—²⁷⁹ a warm devoted friend—a chivalrous son of the Old Cape Fear stock of Rev^y. Whigs. He takes his wife to North for her health

I wrote this hastily to secure the mail.

Very truly

Raleigh N.C.

FROM DUNCAN K. McRAE²⁸⁰

Raleigh Jany 15th [1848]

His Excellency

Jas K Polk

Pres^t of U.S.

My. Dear Sir

My brother in law Col John H. Manly²⁸¹ visits Washington for the purpose if forgiven of procuring for his brother M^r Chas. Manly—²⁸² a Commission in the Army—

Mr Chas Manly—at most inauspicious time in this state & when soldiers were very much needed—volunteered as a private in the No. Ca Regiment and is now in Mexico—His family standing & character fit him for a better position He is a young man of fine talents & undoubted bravery— It would afford me very great gratification if it may be expedient for your Excellency to bestow upon him a Lieut^s commission.

I hope sir it may not be ill timed to tender to your Excellency congratulations upon the brilliant achievements of our armies convinced as I am that they have been the result no less of an able an vigorous administration at home than of skill and valour in the field—

I have the Honour to be

With very high regard Sir

Your very Obt Serv^t

²⁷⁹ James J. McKay represented the sixth district of North Carolina in Congress from 1831 to 1849. *A Manual of North Carolina*, 1913, p. 960.

²⁸⁰ Duncan Kirkland McRae of Fayetteville entered the University of North Carolina in 1836, but did not graduate. He was an eloquent speaker and an able lawyer and journalist; served as consul of the United States at Paris; enlisted as a colonel in the Confederate Army; and was an agent for North Carolina in England during the Civil War. *Battle, History of the University*, I, 427, 459, 698, 699, 832.

²⁸¹ John H. Manly was the son of Charles and Charity Hare (Haywood) Manly. He served as a colonel of the coast artillery of the Confederate Army. He was in charge of the troops at the fort which protected Galveston when it was blockaded by a Federal fleet under the command of his kinsman, Commodore Haywood Bell of North Carolina. Manly married Sarah Carolina Henry, daughter of Louis D. Henry. Ashe, *Biographical History of North Carolina*, VI, 351, 355, 356.

²⁸² Charles Manly was commissioned as a second lieutenant March 3, 1848, and was honorably discharged, July 25, 1848. Heitman, *Historical Register and Dictionary of the United States Army*, I, 687.

FROM WILLIAM H. HAYWOOD, JR.

To the President of the U.States

The young gentleman who will hand you this note is my Nephew - Col John H. Manly- He is going to Washington City on a short visit and wishing to make your personal acquaintance I take the liberty of presenting him to you & through you to Mrs P. and of asking such civilities as your public duties and the pressing engagements of your office may put it in your power to show to my sister's son-²⁸³

I am yours &c.

Raleigh 20 Jan. 1848

FROM WILLIAM J. ALEXANDER

United [States] Branch Mint

Charlotte Jan 26 1848.

To his Excellency J.K.Polk.

Dear Sir

I have just received my commission as Superintendent of the mint, since the confirmation by the Senate, for which I have to thank you much. May I be permitted to ask another favor of you? My son William Lee Alexander²⁸⁴ is well advanced in his education, and will be in May 16 years of age. I understand, that, by law the President has a right to appoint 10 Cadets at large to West Point. I wish you would send him to West Point as a Cadet under the authority so given, he wishes to be there with his cousin.

I am dear sir, with respect yours

FROM WILLIAM M. GREEN

Chapel Hill N. C

June 15, 1848

My Dear Friend

After you were kind enough to bestow a Lieutenancy on my nephew James F. Waddell, I determined that I would have thereafter to com-

²⁸³ See McRae to Polk, January 15, 1848.

²⁸⁴ William L. Alexander graduated from the University of North Carolina in the class of 1854 with first honors. He served as captain in the Confederate Army and died from wounds received on the battlefield. Battle, *History of the University*, I, 626, 641, 690, 749, 805, 814.

mend himself to yr— further notice by his good qualities as a soldier.²⁸⁵ I have for sometime known that he was strongly attached to the service, and very desirous of continuing it; — but it is only within the last few days that I have heard of the meritorious manner in which he has performed his duty.

About a fortnight since I met with the Captain of his Company, who is not yet entirely recovered from a wound received at the National Bridge; and was much gratified to hear him speak of my nephew in the highest terms. Captain Clark and the 1st Lieutenant being both wounded early in that action, the command of the company devolved entirely on Lieut. Waddell who is said to have done himself much credit both in that engagement and the subsequent one at Cerro Gordo. Ever since the date of the former action Lt. Waddell has had the sole training of his company and Captain Clark²⁸⁶ says that one better drilled or disciplined is not to be found in the volunteer service.

I have now before me a letter of recent date in which, after expressing an earnest desire to be retained on the Peace establishment, Lt. W. says that whilst he would thank his friends for any interest they may exert in his behalf, he would much prefer going before a Board of Examiners, and receiving a recommendation from their hands. If such a board should be established for the Junior Officers of our army who are desirous of being retained in service, I hope that he will entitle himself to Executive notice. Should no such examination be instituted, I trust that other opportunities may be presented to you of ascertaining how far Lt. W. is worthy of being retained and advanced in the service. And just so far as he is deserving of the confidence of the Government, and no further do I desire to see his views promoted. I am too much of a patriot to wish or ask favor for any one, unless my country was to be the gainer by it. And I may also add that my regard for *yrself* [*sic.*] would prevent me from bringing to yr notice any one who was not likely to do credit to yr appointment.

Let me congratulate you my dear friend on the return of *peace*. I know that it must be to you as well as to the nation, at large a cause of much rejoicing. You have had my fervent prayers for Divine direction & blessings ever since yr inauguration, and they will follow you to the end of yr days.

Present me most respectfully to Mrs. Polk, and believe me
Y's with undiminished regard.

²⁸⁵ See Green to Polk, January 25, 1847.

²⁸⁶ See *The North Carolina Historical Review*, XVII (1940), 139 n.

FROM JOHN D. HAWKINS²⁸⁷

Near Henderson Depot
Granville County No. C.
June 15th. 1848

To his Excellency

James K. Polk

Dear Sir

Enclosed I send you a copy of my letter²⁸⁸ to Judge Strange²⁸⁹ and his reply²⁹⁰ to it, growing out of the conversation we had when I last

²⁸⁷ For a sketch of John D. Hawkins see *The North Carolina Historical Review*, XVII (1940), 37 n.

²⁸⁸ Hawkins enclosed a copy of the following to Polk:

"Near Henderson Depot
Granville County No. C.
June 5th 1848

"Dear Sir

"The Tuesday evening after you left Washington I attended a reception at the Presidents, when he took occasion to say to me that Genl. M'Kay had been with him that day and to his surprise had told him, that you had left the city without calling on him, *and for the reason*, you had attempted to [call] on him some previous day, and that his Porter refused to bear your Card, because it was cabinet day. The President said until informed by Genl. McKay he was not apprised that you had called and offered a card the delivery of which had been refused—that he regretted the occurrence For he entertained for you great respect not only for your high station in society, but that he cherished for you kind feelings as a Gentleman, whose social intercourse he esteemed and which he desired always to cultivate. But that the Administration of the affairs of the Nation had been such for a long time, that the Cabinet meetings were so important and the business so pressing admitting of necessity of no interruption, that he had been obliged to order his Porter not to be the bearer of cards upon such occasions, that this was done certainly with no reference to you or any particular person, but as a general rule the result of necessity, had been long established and known, and he had hoped the necessity for it had been rightly appreciated. And he was sorry you should take it as unkind to yourself, when it could not certainly have been so intended. The President desired me to say this much to you and I hope you will view it, as I do, as a respectful amend entitling him as he desires to be reinstated with you in your wanted friendly & social relations. I hope to hear from you upon this subject, meanwhile I remain

"Very respectfully
Your Humble Servt.
Jno D. Hawkins"

"The Huble
Robert Strange"

²⁸⁹ Robert Strange (Sept. 20, 1796-Feb. 19, 1854) moved in 1815 from Virginia to Fayetteville, North Carolina, where he died. He was a member of the house of commons of North Carolina from 1821 to 1823 and in 1826; served as a judge of the superior court from 1827 to 1836; was a member of the Senate of the United States from December 5, 1836, to November 16, 1840, when he resigned because he refused to be instructed by the legislature of North Carolina; resumed the practice of law in Fayetteville; served as solicitor of the fifth judicial district of the State; and engaged in literary work. *Biographical Directory of the American Congress, 1774-1927*, p. 1579.

²⁹⁰ The following letter was enclosed by John D. Hawkins:

"Fayetteville June 9th 1848

"John D. Hawkins, Esqr

"My Dear Sir

"I received your favor of the 5th inst while confined to a sick bed which favor even now I am unable to answer but by the "aid of an amanuensis—But I am too gratified to you for having written the letter and to the President for having suggested it to await for its acknowledgement the uncertain return of health

"My friend General M'Kay misapprehended me if he supposed I assigned as a reason for not calling on the President the circumstances alluded to in your letter. In passing through Washington city I was compelled to proceed the same night that I reached there being already a day behind my time in getting to the extra Term of Moore Superior Court and was then labouring under pneumonitory symptoms of the disease which has since prostrated me so that I did not feel able to undergo the necessity of changes in my toilet or the excitement of being in a crowd, these were my reasons and my only reasons, for not visiting the President as I passed through Washington—It is

had the pleasure to be with you. It gives me gratification to have it thus verified that my friend Strange was misunderstood by Gen^l. M'Kay.²⁹¹ I know he is sensitive, as he terms it *thin skinned*, and that his feelings are easily wrought upon, not with anger, but from mortification from causes which could not influence him — His great knowledge of the arduous duties of your station requiring your undivided time & attention at periods ought to have fortified him under the circumstances, to view his disappointment as a casualty which of necessity had to occur, and he should have retired accordingly. I presume he will do so next time similarly placed.

Jane²⁹² and myself had a pleasant time getting Home. We fell in on the way with Mr & Mrs. Rainer²⁹³ [*sic*] and traveled together at Henderson. A little incident occurred [*sic*] which reminded me of Mr^s Polk's remark that there was a likeness between Jane and Susan — Susan's child to our amusement, showed great desire to go to Jane mistaking her for its Mother, by candle light. Jane desires me to remember her to you respectfully and Mr^s. Polk most affectionately,

I have the Honor

To be, most respectfully

Your Humble Servant

true I did casually mention to General M'Kay that plain republicans and sensitive men, were sometimes exposed to personal mortification in paying their respects to great men, and observed that during the last summer I attended one of the Presidents levees and was received by him with all the consideration that I could possibly desire—that in the course of conversation the President observed to me that that was not a suitable occasion to have with me as usual a conversation as he could wish, and requested that I would call at some other time, and as I understood named the hours of ten on the following morning that I accordingly attended at that hour and upon being refused admittance by the porter requested that he would take my card to the President (taking it for granted that he would at once bring to his recollection his own suggestion of the preceding evening) that this the porter refused to do saying that he had positive orders to carry no cards to the President that morning but I do not recollect that he said it was cabinet morning and my strong impression is that it was not Cabinet morning—I confess upon this I turned away somewhat chagrined [*sic*] and for a moment resolved that I would never again obtrude my self where I had no special business—But I should be very sorry that the President, you Gen M'Kay or any other esteemed friend, should imagine me so weak as to have set the occurrence down as a personal offense — or that it has in the slightest degree diminished my esteem for the President as a gentleman or my approbation of him as a public officer whose election and administration I have ever promoted and maintained to the best of my poor abilities and administration as eventful and brilliant as any that illustrate the page of our country's history, No one can appreciate more than I do the difficulties that beset the path of public men, and the impropriety of expecting that things can be at the beck and call of every man — I am a little thin skinned but I am not unreasonable You will please make this explanation to the President in such vein as you shall deem most becoming

"And believe me with long cherished esteem

"Your friend and Obt Servt

"Ro. Strange"

²⁹¹ For a sketch of McKay see *The North Carolina Historical Review*, XVI (1939), 350 n.

²⁹² John D. Hawkins married Jane Boyd, daughter of Alexander Boyd, of Boynton, Virginia. She was born on December 25, 1784, and died November 30, 1875. Ashe, *Biographical History of North Carolina*, V, 162.

²⁹³ Kenneth Rayner married Susan Spratt Polk daughter of William and Frances Devereux Polk. Ashe, *Biographical History of North Carolina*, II, 363-366; Rayner to Polk, March 12, 1847.

FROM WILLIAM J. ALEXANDER

U. S. Branch Mint

Decr. 19th 1848

Dear Sir

Our friend Green W. Caldwell²⁹⁴ will be in Washington in a few days, and will be an applicant for some California appointment if there [is] any left unoccupied. I hope it will be able to gratify his wishes as no one I know is more deserving of the good will of his friends— I had read your message in the Newspapers before I received the one you so kindly sent me. Permit me as a friend to congratulate you on the glorious termination of your administration you have fulfilled the hopes of your friends and almost silenced the attacks of your enemies. Encountering greater difficulties than fell to the lot of any former administration you have overcome them all & placed our country on a pinnacle of glory she never attained before— You must excuse me for writing this for I act as I feel Mrs. Alexander & family join me in sending respects to yourself & Lady. I hope to see you once more before you surrender the reigns of Government

I am dear Sir with respect yours &c

To His Exc^{cy}

James K. Polk

FROM WILLIAM H. HAYWOOD, JR.²⁹⁵

18 Dec 1848.

Private

To the President of the U States

It is now more than two years since I returned from the Senate under the influence of motives and feelings which ought to have been respected more by my *party* than they were — and in a manner that ought to have saved me from the malignant hostility even of mere partizans: Without denouncing others for their opinions I have never doubted that with *my views* of duty and of party interest and of national policy— either or all together — my course was the only one left

²⁹⁴ Green W. Caldwell (Apr. 13, 1806-July 10, 1864) graduated from the medical department of the University of Pennsylvania in 1831; served as a surgeon in the United States Army from July 13 to October 19, 1832; studied law and practiced in Charlotte; was a member of the house of commons of North Carolina from 1836 to 1841; served in the House of Representatives of Congress from March 4, 1841, to March 3, 1843; was appointed superintendent of the United States Mint at Charlotte in 1844; served as captain of the Third Dragoons in the War with Mexico and was mustered out in 1848; was elected to the state senate in 1849; was an unsuccessful candidate for Congress in 1850; and thereafter resumed his practice in Charlotte. *Biographical Directory of the American Congress, 1774-1927*, p. 776.

²⁹⁵ Papers of Polk, first series.

for me to take & yet keep my "conscience void of offence" and therefore I have never been able to regret the step I took -

It cannot have escaped your recollection however that upon the occasion of my resignation "*The Union*" put forth an infamous attack upon my publick & private character.²⁹⁶ True it was reprobated by you at the time of its appearance to me personally and to some of my most intimate friends. Moreover you kindly made more than one opportunity to deprecate & deny the inference that because this assault upon me was made in your official organ you must therefore be taken to have given your sanction to it and to declare that it was your "intention on some fit occasion for it to manifest to me & to the world that the President's confidence and affection for his faithful friend Haywood were as strong as ever they were" & thereby to show your dissent to the organ's attack.

In what mode you professed to furnish this voluntary testimonial I never enquired and therefore I do not know. The vindication itself was more interesting to me than the manner of it was important and although it might have been of greater value to me then, than it is now or it may hereafter be a matter of some consequence to my children to have it known to the world that the Chief Magistrate of the great republic so far from lending the weight of his exalted station to their Father's injury really "stood by him and took care to do him justice as he" promised to do. Such were your words to me

The circumstances under which your assurance were given originally, to say nothing of my own faithfulness to you in very trying times, do not allow me to suppose that they were mere words of course yet a delay of two years & more gives me reason to apprehend that in the midst of more important publick duties they have been forgotten.

Bear with me for saying: that such an article as was published in your official organ more than two years ago- unatoned for & unnoticed by the Editor since - has been erroneously considered by thousands as approved (perhaps as the original) condemnation of me and my character by the President himself Hereafter it may be cast up to my children if not to me as the testimony of yourself against me, when your private disavowals and warm expressions of regard & confidence may have been buried with our bones. *Are you willing that this shall be the case?* The history of your own family happily for me furnishes us with a precedent to show how a contemporaneous testimonial of the kind promised by you may be useful to my children- and I well remember that yourself alluded to that precedent in your interview with me-

Very truly &c.

Raleigh N. C.

²⁹⁶ For references to Haywood's resignation see Wheeler to Polk, August 17, 1846.

FROM ASA BIGGS²⁹⁷

Williamston N. C.

December 27. 1848

My dear Sir

I am very much honored and obliged by a copy of your Message which you were kind enough to send me and which I received a short time since, I am very much gratified at the forcible manner in which you have reviewed the measures of your administration, the whole of which meets my unqualified approval and I am pleased that I was permitted to have some humble share in promoting the important measures consummated in the first Session of the 29th Congress: and although the misrepresentations in regard to the Mexican War contributed greatly to prevent my re-election I am fully compensated for any personal defeat by the inestimable results to the country: the consequences of that War. The valuable acquisition of territory now developed in the gold region of California *alone* has demonstrated sooner than was anticipated the wise policy which has characterized your administration and has completely dissipated and falsified the confident assertions of the Whigs made last fall that the territory was utterly valueless: an assertion that I had to combat in this district as elector without expecting that my positions as to the importance of the acquisition would be so soon verified

I may be permitted in the utmost sincerity to assure you that in my opinion your administration has more nearly approached the Republican creed (as I understand it) in its practical results than any former administration of our government and therefore I am not surprised at the dissatisfaction produced among the Whigs at your bold and truthful exposure of the tendency of federal measures and the boasted "American System" which I hold with you if carried out in the administration of the Government would change the character of our institutions and ultimately divert Republican liberty here. I regret to say however that in North Carolina the Democratic party are under a cloud, & in a minority that I fear will take a long time to change. We however have fought better than could be expected. (without an organization which it has been impossible for us to perfect although I have unremittingly urged it.

I have just learned that Mr Badger²⁹⁸ after many ballottings is reëlected to the Senate and I regret that our friend (although they could not have elected a Democrat) should have cast their votes for Mr Clingman²⁹⁹ whom I consider as objectionable if not more so

²⁹⁷ There is a brief sketch of Biggs in *The North Carolina Historical Review*, XVI (1939), 445 n.

²⁹⁸ For a sketch of George E. Badger see *The North Carolina Historical Review*, XVI (1939), 338 n.

²⁹⁹ A brief sketch of Thomas L. Clingman is found in *The North Carolina Historical Review*, XVI (1939), 443 n.

than Mr. Badger, An acknowledgement however has been wrung from Clingman in approbation of the measures of your administration, I have just read a letter from a member of the Legislature who states that Clingman pledged himself against a National Bank & the Wilmot proviso and in favor of the Independent Treasury and the Tariff of 1846.

I should be gratified if during the short period of your official term the distracting Slavery question could be settled and therefore I cordially approve your earnest recommendations on that subject, although a consideration of Party policy might desire me to throw it upon the incoming administration: for it cannot be doubted that Gen^l. Taylor if he vetoes the Wilmot proviso will be guilty of a gross fraud in obtaining Northern votes, and any observation convinces me if the South obtains equality in any portion of the new Territories it can only be expected during your administration, If Gen^l. Taylor approves the Proviso the larger portion of the Southern Whigs I believe will justify or excuse him, I am satisfied from my canvass this fall that *even* in eastern North Carolina a large vote could now be obtained for the Proviso if the movement were headed by *one* influential man.

The result of the Presidential election therefore on this question is to *divide* the South and unite the North, and what may be the ultimate result time only can determine, Certain I am that the South cannot reasonably calculate upon securing anything except it is done during your term and that seems improbable from the recent course of the House of Representatives: a course which I predicted would certainly be pursued in the *next* Congress. I very much fear that the spirit of Abolition is making such rapid progress that in a few years the Northern slaveholding states will be *compelled* to surrender the question: if for a few years even we should be spared intense excitement followed by violent outbreaks.

I hope for the best but fear the worst and therefore I repeat my admiration and approval of your course in pressing the question with earnestness before the excitement becomes uncontrollable.

But I did not commence this letter with the intention of trespassing upon your time in speculations upon political subjects but to express my thanks for your recollection of a friend now in private life and to assure you of the warm approval of your message by one who feels a deep and abiding interest in the welfare of the country.

Please present my kindest regard to Mrs. Polk. and believe me while I have honor to subscribe myself with the highest respect and undiminished esteem

Your friend & obt servt.

His Excellency
James K Polk

President of U. S.
Washington City

FROM DANIEL TURNER³⁰⁰Warrenton Feby 8th 1849

My dear Sir

It was wide known to Mr Hawkins by my friend Mr Edwards³⁰¹ that a letter from him to the President would be of service to me— And I had yesterday the pleasure to receive in an enclosure from the latter, the letter I now send you— I flatter myself the sentiments expressed by Mr H— are those of the community generally in this section of the county — I send the letter to you, to use at such time and in such way as your discretion may deem best— My great desire is to go to California — And cannot believe that Congress will adjourn without attending to the interests of the U S — in that quarter — Mr. Edwards will start to Washington in a few days — and is anxious that I should accompany him— but do not deem it essential to do so— should it become necessary on intimation from my friends can be given at any time — Mr. Edwards would have written also; but his intended visit to Washington precludes the necessity of doing so—

I wrote to Mr Badger a day or two after my former letter and requested him to see and confer with you — Be so good as to give Mrs Turner and my best respects to Mrs. Mason³⁰² and believe me to be

Yours most truly

FROM DAVID L. SWAIN

Chapel Hill, 10 Feb. 1849

My dear Madam

I recollect during the brief but very pleasant intercourse which Mrs. Swain and myself enjoyed with you and the President 18 months ago, your remark that you had no autograph of your brother Marshall, and my promise to supply one from my wife's Cabinet. The careless-

³⁰⁰ Daniel Turner was the son of Governor James Turner and Mary Anderson Turner. He served as an officer in the War of 1812, and was president of the Warrenton Female Academy from 1847 to 1854. Prior to becoming president of this school, he had a school for girls at his home, "Woody," about four miles from Warrenton. He married Anna Key, a daughter of Francis Scott Key, author of the "Star Spangled Banner." He was a student at William and Mary College for two years; was a member of the North Carolina house of commons, 1819-1823; served in Congress from March 4, 1827, to March 3, 1829; and in 1854 was made superintending engineer of the construction of public works at Mare Island Navy Yard, California, serving from September 16, 1854, until his death, July 21, 1860. *Biographical Directory of the American Congress, 1774-1927*, pp. 1631, 1632; Montgomery, Lizzie Wilson, *Sketches of Old Warrenton, North Carolina*, pp. 150-152; Ashe, *Biographical History of North Carolina*, III, 414.

³⁰¹ Weldon N. Edwards represented Warren County in the senate of North Carolina from 1833 to 1846 and in 1850 and 1852. For a sketch of his life see Ashe, *Biographical History of North Carolina*, I, 265-269.

³⁰² John Y. Mason was Secretary of the Navy.

ness and haste with which the enclosed,³⁰³ was incidently written & the confidence, not merely implied by the subject of the billet, but expression upon its face, would excuse a now compliance with my engagement, to any one, who was not, like yourself, fully qualified to realize, and make due allowance for all the circumstances which call it forth. Viewed in this light, I hope it may be considered, as an act of kindness to a living and not of injustice to a departed friend. In connection with the autograph I have concluded to communicate a copy of a letter from my friend L. J. Polk,³⁰⁴ Esq. written in Dec. 1823. You may

³⁰³ The original remains in the papers of Polk along with David L. Swain's letter.

"Smith's Tavern 8 Miles
from Co. H.

"My dear Cousin [Eleanor,

"Upon this mere half sheet & within these humble walls of our hospitable host, Smith, I propose to impose a few marks, evincive that I am not forgetful; tho you may say I am (judging from this) uncommunicative (I will write you immediately upon my restoration to bosom of parental affection).

"Since my departure from Raleigh, since I tore myself from my much beloved friend—from you & — &, I have suffered all the agonizing pains of which mind & mortal man are susceptible. O! Cous. E. I now weep—I weep to think that every hour removes me farther & still farther from C. E. &—If you can point to yourself fancy's eye an imaginary mental thermometer, I will point you to the degree of my feelings—the degree is like the supposed thermometer, imaginary; it is beyond the calculation of reality. And so they have been my dear friend, since I saw you, some one one—no two occasions. One when articulating the language of ancient Rome—in which Horace Livy & Cicero thundered; & when in company with the friend of my dear friend. Those in company with the friend of my dear friend. There is great satisfaction in recounting the virtues & amabilities of an esteemed & bosom friend. Conceive my delight then, when conversing with Laph, (as Wilson calls her) about Laura; per whom (i.e. Wilson) you know, I cherish the strongest and sincerest friendship. Say to her I am in dolorous case.

"Excuse the paper & the correspondent pen & still more the execution. Your sincere friend surrounded by a host of brawny & blue thoughts.

"M. T. Polk."

"Circumstances must apologize for this—Temerous"

[On the verso of the letter there is written.]

"Mean writing is evidence of greatness like cruelty is of simplicity—you will infer at least you ought, under the same principle that I am very great."

"You promise not to show my letter Cous. Emma & Laura may see"

"Miss Eleanor White
Raleigh

N. Carolina."

³⁰⁴ This copy is in the handwriting of Swain and is preserved with the other letters.

"Western District, Decr. 20, 1823

"My dear Swain,

"In consequence of a trip on business which detained me more than six weeks, that I have lately taken to Nashville Columbia, Franklin, Pulaski, Fayetteville, Shelbyville near Murfreesborough, your letter of the 24th Oct. did not reach me until about four days ago, but the pleasure with which I devoured its contents, has almost recompensed me, for the disappointment I suffer, in not being able to get hold of it sooner.

"Since I wrote you I have been traversing in the country to and fro, examining renting, leasing and selling land, not the most pleasant employment, in the world to me you know I have navigated the Mississippi, from the mouth of Big Hatchet, to the Forked Deer, cruised into Arkansas Territory where we spent the night, and in short taken a general view of the country from the Tennessee to the Mississippi. It is a fertile and beautiful country, and in a few years will be the most desirable section of the State.

"I was in the town of Nashville, two days and a half, on my last trip, and during my continuance there, was very highly entertained by my attendance upon the theatre. I am a great lover of the drama, and as there was an excellent company under the management of Caldwell I enjoyed it in perfection. My room mates at the Nashville inn were fine fellows and jolly companions—Judge Phillips late of Illinois, J. G. Blount and Mr. Runyon of N. C.

"I am about to set out for Columbia, where my business will detain me 8 or 10 days, and while I sojourn there my relative James K. Polk is to be married to Miss Childress of Murfreesborough. I am invited to accompany him to the metropolis as a waiter, on the occasion assisted by his partner in the practice A. V. Brown, Esq. We are the only male attendants, who the ladies will be I don't know. This letter will be deposited in the Post-office at Columbia.

"Your meeting with Miss E. White and the Miss Wilsons, under the circumstances you mention, Taken in connection with Taylors sudden appearance, was really a novelty in the history of accidents.—That night I will remember well & while contrasting your fate with mine on that evening, I cursed the fates for having permitted me to form an acquaintance with Miss E. C. W.—Here I was roomed up in a log hut 12 by 14,

perhaps remember, a rencounter of wits, in relation to our early history, in which I have never hesitated to admit, I come off with a drooping wing. If your cousins letter has no other interest for you, it may serve to show that my pretensions to knowledge with reference to you and yours, in earlier if not happier days, had some substantial foundation.

There are moreover some coincidences which present themselves in relation [to] it, which you may consider interesting and striking. A very brief narration will supply the clue.

Lucius and I, were office mates in Raleigh, in the winter of 1822-23. He, Cowan,³⁰⁵ Taylor³⁰⁶ and myself were boon companions and frequent visitors at Mr. Whites where the young ladies, referred to, were domiciled. The late R[obert] H. Cowan Esq. of Wilmington married the youngest daughter of Gov. Stone, on the 2. Oct. 1823, and that circumstance, enabled Lucius to recall and connect the events of that night, with the incidents stated in my letter to which his, is a reply, Miss White (Mrs. Swain)³⁰⁷ and the Misses Wilson spent the autumn of 1823, among our western-mountains, and I chanced to meet with them, on the evening when (as we all knew) Cowan, was to be married.

About 8 O clock at night in the midst of merry making, at my father's in Asheville, Lieut Taylor who had been ordered from Smiths-ville in this state, to Council Bluff, on the upper Missouri, knocked at the door, and was no less surprized, to find himself in the midst of those young ladies, than they at his sudden apparition. The attention of the Lieutenant to Catherine,³⁰⁸ had been rather marked, and Marshall was at that time engaged to Laura.³⁰⁹ The former is at present Col. J. P. Taylor, brother of the President elect, and my deceased friend, if he had lived to attain intellectual maturity, would have been the brother of the President, and would have presented no ordinary claims to distinction himself.

reminiscing on the frolicsome life led by our friend Cowan, his indifference to money, & the appertaining thereto, his now materially altered situation in life, while you were enjoying the mild and bewitching smiles of Eleanor, the good humor and loquacity of Catherine, and the wild and frolicsome gambols of that little Devil Laura. Swain, your situation was truly an amiable one, and to be similarly situated for a day, I would give all I possess, or even expect to possess, on earth provided nevertheless, that I could succeed in accomplishing the purpose of the interview.

"Believing me your sincere friend,

"Lucius J. Polk."

³⁰⁵ Robert H. Cowan was born in Wilmington in 1801 and died in May, 1843. He served as member of the house of commons from New Hanover County in 1824 and 1825. Grant, *Alumni History*, p. 134.

³⁰⁶ Joseph Pannel Taylor served in the War of 1812, was honorably discharged from the army June 15, 1815, and was reinstated, May 17, 1816, as a second lieutenant; was made first lieutenant November 24, 1817; captain, July 6, 1825; lieutenant colonel, November 24, 1841, and brigadier general, February 9, 1863. He died June 24, 1864. Heitman, *Historical Register and Dictionary of the United States Army*, I, 947-948.

³⁰⁷ On January 12, 1824, David L. Swain married Eleanor White, daughter of William White, late secretary of the State of North Carolina and granddaughter of Governor Richard Caswell. Wheeler, *Reminiscences and Memoirs of North Carolina*, p. 57.

³⁰⁸ Catherine Wilson was the daughter of Joseph Wilson of Charlotte. She married William J. Alexander. Wheeler, *Reminiscences and Memoirs of North Carolina*, p. 289.

³⁰⁹ Laura Wilson was the second daughter of Joseph Wilson and she married Marshall T. Polk, brother of James K. Polk. Ashe, *Biographical History of North Carolina*, VII, 502.

It will afford real pleasure to Mrs. Swain and to me, to hear either from you or the President,

I am Madam

Very faithfully, your

FROM JAMES T. MILLER³¹⁰ AND OTHERS

Wilmington February 20th 1849

To His Excellency James K. Polk
President of the United States

At a recent meeting of the Commissioners of Wilmington, we were appointed a Committee to tender to you the hospitalities of our Town, and to solicit your sojourn among us on your way homeward, as long as you may be able to linger here. We assure you that it affords pleasure to discharge the duty which as the organ of the people of Wilmington has been devolved upon us, and we hope that it will in no way conflict with your convenience, to afford our citizens generally, the gratification of your presence.

We are with the highest respect

Your Excellency's Ob^t. Servants

James T. Miller
L. H. Marsteller
Josh^a. G. Wright

FROM WILLIAM HAYWOOD, JR.

W. City

My Dear Sir

Your note was brought to me in the Committee-room of Commerce whilst we were acting upon nominations and the messenger had left the door before I could see him or else I should have answered by him.

This morning I am almost as full of business as you are & that is not a strong figure. But of course I will see you as requested some time between this & 9 o Clock P.M. The earliest hour I can leave

Your friend

³¹⁰ On December 29, 1846, Polk nominated James T. Miller to be naval officer for the district of Wilmington, North Carolina, as successor to James Owen, who was removed. On motion of William H. Haywood, Miller's nomination was confirmed, February 24, 1846. *Journal of the Executive Proceedings of the United States Senate*, VII, 14, 22, 32, 50-51.

FROM JOHN H. WHEELER

Will the President be so good as to acknowledge the receipt of picture of Gen^l. Jackson by Sully jr. which he puts under my care— answer to Beatty's Ford, Catawba Co. N C

Yours—

FROM WILLIAM H. HAYWOOD, JR.³¹¹

Raleigh 2 Dec 1836.

My dear Sir

Do me the favor to procure without delay a certificate of the Post Master General to prove that the persons whose names are underwritten are Post Masters of the date of their appointment. The certificate must contain the fact that they are now post Masters & when appointed— If the fact be not so let it set forth the date of their resignation of the date of acceptance thereof at Department. I wish a separate certificate for each one & although it will cost something I desire that you will send them to me by *Express mail* & call on *Brown* to pay the *postage*. Between us there are no political secrets. These men are members of our assembly and if post Masters they are disqualified to serve— & fortunately they are all opposed to us in politics & my purpose is to have them *Ousted* Of course the certificates will be made without naming me and I will give them a proper direction

I do not address B Brown directly because I am not sure he has reached W. City—

Pray do not delay an hour as every thing may depend on a speedy reply to this letter—

Alfred Dockery— P. M. Dockery's Store Richmond Co N.C.

**Edmund Jones*—P. M. Fort Defiance Wilkes Co N.C.

Jos M D. Carson P M. Green River Rutherford Co N. C.

Meshack Pinkston P M Jersey Settlement Rowan Co N.C.

John Clayton P.M Mill River Buncombe Co NC

W^m Harris P.M. Narrowsville Montgomery Co. NC.

W. J. T. Miller P.M. Poplar Row. Rutherford Co N C

* *Edmund Jones* may appear on Books to be *Edward Jones* but look to the Bond & you will see it is *Edmund*

It is not necessary to take a *whole sheet* for each P.M. I presume a separate Certificate for each of 4 may be written on one sheet to save postage

I am sick to day & nearly broken down in the service— But help me as requested above & we will give you another good account of us in

³¹¹ Papers of Polk, first series. This letter and the one which follows were found after the letters in previous installments of this series had already gone to press.

N.C. I wrote to you at Columbia.— Mrs H joins me in kind remembrance to Mrs Polk — Show this letter to Brown— Act promptly for this is no time to loose & keep secrets

Yours truly

FROM WILLIE P. MANGUM

Washington 26th Dec. 1845

To The President of the U. States

Sir

Two days ago Col. Ward requested me (as he was well warranted in doing by reason of his knowledge of my former intimacy with some of his most distinguished near relatives) to hand you a note to day, as he understood from me, that I intended to make a call,— Circumstances prevent my carrying out that purpose: I take the liberty of enclosing his note,³¹² lest Col. Ward may think me negligent or careless in this matter.

I am very sure that Col. W. shall succeed in his purpose, it will be gratifying to a large & extended circle of relatives & friends in N^o. Ca. — all or nearly all, I am sorry to know, are democrats as well as agreeable to all — as far as I know — of the delegation in Congress from that State

With high consideration

I am Sir

Your m^o. ob^t. Ser^t.

³¹² The following note was enclosed:

"Washington, December 26th, 1845

"Sir:

"I called on Senator Speight as you advised me to do, and regret to have to state that his report to me from Secretary Walker, was not favorable in my case.—The matter, however, is where I some time since placed it, and where I desire it shall remain in your hands.

"I have thought proper, (though I know you require nothing of the kind from me,) to enclosed a slip containing the signatures of a respectable portion of my delegation in Congress in my behalf.—

"Judge Mangum, who knows me and also knows something of my connexions, has been kind enough to say

"I have the honor, to be, Sir,

"Very respectfully your

"Obt. Servt. & friend

"Joseph D. Ward."

"To the President,
U.S."

(The enclosed slip read as follows:)

"We hope Mr Ward will get a clerkship."

"David S. Reid

J. C. Dobbin

Asa Biggs

Henry S. Clark

D. M. Barringer."

BOOK REVIEWS

NORTH CAROLINA: A GUIDE TO THE OLD NORTH STATE. Compiled and written by The Federal Writers' Project of the Federal Works Agency, Work Projects Administration. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press. 1939. Pp. xxxiv, 601. \$2.50.)

For almost four and a half centuries since Columbus made his memorable landfall on October 12, 1492, the presses of the world have poured forth an enormous literature describing the American scene. After the founding of Virginia Captain John Smith produced what might be called the first guide to English America and since his day numerous gazetteers, directories, guides for immigrants, and travelers' descriptions have aided the historian in recapturing and reconstructing the past. While most works of this kind are designed to be of practical use to the generation which produces them, they are probably of even greater value to the historical students of later ages. They serve as milestones by which one may measure the velocity and direction of change.

The American Guide Series, latest contribution to our guide literature, is a more ambitious undertaking in many ways than any of its predecessors. Although undertaken as one of the emergency projects to aid the unemployed, the various volumes which have been printed to date deserve to be judged on their own merits. The general outline of the guides is the same for all the states, a plan to which no serious objections can be raised, although a few die-hard individualists may single this out as another evidence of the blighting effects of bureaucracy on originality. The first section of the guide is devoted to essays on the general background of the State, including its geography, people, historical highlights, economic institutions and activities, education, religion, and arts. Part two presents statistics, descriptions, facts, and legends for each of the chief towns and cities within the State. Emphasis is naturally and properly placed on those things which are distinctive in the present and which contribute to the happiness and well-being of the city's inhabitants. The third and larger portion of each guide is devoted to descriptions of tours which may be made to numerous points of interest within the State, including data on the smaller communities which were not described in the preceding section.

Scattered through the volume are many pictures illustrating the landscape, architecture, people, sports, and gainful pursuits characteristic of the area. A brief chronology of the history of the State from its beginnings to the present and a selected bibliography conclude the survey. A large state map is found in a pocket in the back cover of the guide. Such in brief is the general plan of the American Guide Series.

North Carolina: A Guide to the Old North State follows closely the pattern outlined above. It contains a vast amount of data, important, colorful, anecdotal, trivial, and antiquarian. Its compilers have succeeded, however, in making the book something more than a catalogue of statistics and cold, hard, facts. They have been able to catch and convey something at least of the spirit and tradition which, although sometimes intangible, are nevertheless as much a part of North Carolina as its sandy beaches and towering mountains. The guide is equally successful in picturing the quaint, "befo de war" communities which still linger in the State, and the bustling, modern, metropolises such as Winston-Salem, Charlotte, and Greensboro. Chapel Hill is most fittingly accorded a full length portrait, symbolizing as it does North Carolina's interest in and support of education. An unusual feature of the volume is the section on eating and drinking; after reading this, most Tar Heels living in other sections will probably feel as though they had not really eaten a square meal since they left the Old North State.

The tours outlined in the guide cover the entire State, which of course gives a sufficient choice of climatic and physiographic conditions to suit all tastes. The tourist may find information about the roads—paved to nearly all important points of interest—hotels, tourist homes and camps, recreation facilities, distances to be covered, in fact just about everything he is likely to want to know, except costs. He will find much interesting fact, legend, and folklore imbedded in the descriptions of the tours and detours from the main routes.

In this, as in companion volumes in the series, the compilers do not give source citations for their facts and direct quotations. This is probably a conscious catering to the many who are supposedly repelled and irritated by references and footnotes. In the absence of the mechanics of scholarly writing,

the reader is forced to rely on the accuracy, judgment, and intelligence of the workers who gathered the data, and on the scholarship of those who edited and sponsored the finished work. It is most reassuring to know that many professionally trained authorities in various fields of knowledge have contributed their advice and help in the preparation of *North Carolina: A Guide to the Old North State*, and that publication has been under the direction of the University of North Carolina Press.

The resident of North Carolina will find the time spent in reading the book's nearly six hundred pages of text both pleasurable and profitable, and Tar Heels in exile will find it difficult to complete its perusal without suffering attacks of acute nostalgia.

ROBERT T. THOMPSON.

RUTGERS UNIVERSITY,
NEW BRUNSWICK, N. J.

FIVE NORTH CAROLINA NEGRO EDUCATORS. Prepared under the direction of N. C. Newbold. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press. 1939. Pp. xii, 142. \$1.00.)

President Frank P. Graham of the University of North Carolina summed up the importance of this small volume when he said in its preface that it contained the biographies of five North Carolina Negro educators "who are examples of the noble part Negroes are playing in the life, spirit, and upbuilding of our State." The five Negro educators, all deceased, are Simon Green Atkins, President of Winston-Salem Teachers' College; James Benson Dudley, President of the Agricultural and Technical College in Greensboro; Annie Wealthy Holland, State Supervisor of Negro elementary schools; Peter Weddick Moore, President of Elizabeth City State Normal School; and Ezekiel Ezra Smith, President of Fayetteville State Normal School.

The small size of the volume does not indicate that little care went into its making. Indeed, great attention was given to every phase of the lives of these individuals; and the compression of the material into such a few pages is a testimonial to the extent to which the information was perpended by the writers. Each sketch was written by committees composed of college students and faculty advisers under the supervision of

Mr. N. C. Newbold of the State Department of Public Instruction. In every instance, except one—that of President Atkins—a committee of faculty members and students from a white North Carolina college worked with a similar committee from a Negro college. The product is a readable, moving, and significant contribution to the growing body of information about Negroes in the history of North Carolina.

Though these five North Carolina Negro educators differed in background and, to some extent, in training (though three were, at various times, students at Shaw University) they had certain aims in common. Whether it was Atkins in Winston-Salem, Moore in Elizabeth City, or Mrs. Holland all over the State, each was determined to establish better race relations and to set up a more functional type of education for the Negro. Though obviously influenced by the teachings of Booker T. Washington, they were not without the pragmatism of John Dewey, though they all may not have been aware of that fact. One is impressed by their insistence on education for living. This insistence, by example and by precept, marks a milestone in the development of Negro education in North Carolina.

Atkins was not only President of the Winston-Salem Teachers' College, but also a founder of the North Carolina Teachers' Association and an outstanding layman in the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church. In addition to his brilliant career as president of the Agricultural and Technical College, James Dudley was a leader in the field of interracial coöperation, and an outstanding champion of the virtues of American democracy. Mrs. Holland, a leading school principal, who later became the state supervisor of elementary schools, found time to maintain a Christian home and to help organize the Negro Parent-Teachers Association in North Carolina. President Moore of Elizabeth City Teachers' College was a deacon and Sunday School teacher in the Baptist Church and conductor of a Teachers' Institute for years. President Smith of Fayetteville Teachers' College was the United States Minister to Liberia, a soldier in the Spanish-American War, and an outstanding Baptist layman.

This volume does not succeed in completely surmounting the difficulty confronting every coöperative effort: that of assimilating variations in types of subject matter and in style. Thanks

to its able editing, however, considerable uniformity has been attained, with the result that each biographical sketch succeeds in its aim of depicting the life of an outstanding North Carolina Negro educator and of indicating the various ways in which the individual succeeded in educating—outside the classroom as well as within.

JOHN HOPE FRANKLIN.

ST. AUGUSTINE'S COLLEGE,
RALEIGH, NORTH CAROLINA.

SECTIONALISM AND INTERNAL IMPROVEMENTS IN TENNESSEE, 1796-1845. By Stanley John Folmsbee. (Knoxville: The East Tennessee Historical Society. 1939. Pp. vi, 293. \$3.75.)

The general story of the wave of road, canal, and railroad building that swept over the American states between the conclusion of the wars of 1812 and 1860 is well known to historians. Detailed treatments of the course of this "craze" for internal improvements in particular states, however, are in general lacking. In this book, Professor Folmsbee has supplied us with the story in one state, Tennessee. After a brief discussion of the geographic features of the state which formed the basis of a persistent political sectionalism, the author points out the particular transportation problems and needs of East, Middle, and West Tennessee. Here, he demonstrates that East Tennessee's need for internal improvements was much greater than that of the other sections, but, as is often the case, the difficulties of satisfying this need were at the time virtually insurmountable.

Like other states, Tennessee in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries had depended mainly upon local tax and work assessments and state-chartered navigation companies to provide adequate transportation facilities. Finding these means inadequate, those sections most in need of improved facilities, namely East and West Tennessee, pressed for more efficacious means. State aid was held back for many years because of bitter sectional rivalries and because Tennessee hoped the federal government would bear a substantial part of the financial burden of constructing internal improvements. Although some of Tennessee's representatives in Congress did not allow sensitive-

ness on states' rights to cool their ardor for federal aid to internal improvements in the states, federal contributions were not forthcoming in sufficient quantities to be of much consequence in the solution of Tennessee's transportation problems.

It was upon a policy of state aid, adopted in the 1830's, that the State depended to provide adequate transportation facilities. Under this plan, the State contributed first one-third and later one-half of the capital of internal improvement companies organized and operated by private interests. Although some miles of turnpikes were built in Middle Tennessee, some of the obstacles to navigation were removed from the rivers of East and West Tennessee, and surveys were made for ambitious railroad projects, failures were more conspicuous than successes. In fact, tangible results of the program after the repeal of the plan in the early 1840's were very few. Moreover, the general failure of the program produced a popular opposition to state aid to internal improvements, thereby delaying later aid to the construction of railroads until other states had attained success in such undertakings. Although mismanagement and poor judgment were not infrequently present in the internal improvement companies, it is interesting to note that cases of outright fraud and public stealing were noticeably few.

If the reader of Professor Folmsbee's book is led by the title to expect a full description of sectionalism in Tennessee, he will be disappointed. Sectionalism is touched upon only in so far as it bears upon the internal improvements problem. Of the social and economic characteristics of the various sections very little is said. Less details of the numerous abortive internal improvement ventures and a more thorough analysis of sectionalism would perhaps have given the book greater balance and clarity. On the whole, the author seems to have done a thorough and scholarly job of research. This reviewer would not minimize the difficulties of treating material of this nature in an interesting and convincing manner; yet it does appear that the results of so much arduous research could have been utilized to somewhat better advantage.

JOSEPH CARLYLE SITTERSON.

THE SOCIAL PHILOSOPHY OF JOHN TAYLOR OF CAROLINE. By Eugene Tenbroeck Mudge. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1939. Pp. xii, 227. \$2.75.)

"Nobody is interested in Taylor," the reviewer is told by a publisher who has investigated the matter. "His most important work, the *Inquiry*, has never been in sufficient demand to call for a reprinting, and copies can still be picked up in second-hand shops at ten dollars." The publisher had been "advised repeatedly by political scientists" against attempting to revive interest in Taylor.

The century-long conspiracy of indifference toward the thought of John Taylor, who belongs among America's half dozen greatest political theorists, would make a revealing study in itself. Successive generations of grudge-bearing Adamses have renewed their ancient feud with the Virginia philosopher, and New England historians through the years have done their best for the conspiracy. Professor Channing loftily dismissed Taylor and all his works as "extraordinarily dull and quite commonplace." Yet viewed historically the conspiracy appears vastly more comprehensive than a mere Cambridge agreement. It was a conspiracy of history and events—many of which Taylor himself foresaw—events and trends that combined to make his views unholy heresies. Even in Taylor's own time, Jefferson, who pronounced his doctrine unequivocally "the true political faith" feared that it was "the voice of one crying in the wilderness." In an urban capitalist America of industrialism, holding-companies, and unemployment, Taylor becomes the heresiarch of all the heresies, more radical in a real sense than the late Europeans—so much more feared.

To complicate matters, Taylor joined the conspiracy against his own fame and popularity. Anyone who has plowed into his volumes knows the thorny obstacles to be encountered. "For heaven's sake," exclaimed John Randolph over one of the pamphlets, "get some worthy person to do the second edition into English." Taylor confessed that he wrote "in a wild, careless, and desultory way." Moreover, he never wrote systematically nor attempted to give his theory any concise form, so that it is necessary to go through all his works to gather his views on any one subject.

In breaking the conspiracy of neglect, Mr. Mudge has done a notable service. Furthermore his book is the answer to Randolph's demand for a "translation," and it is the first attempt at a systematic presentation of John Taylor's social philosophy. Recognizing his task as first of all one of organization and systematization, Mr. Mudge has concentrated upon this phase with fortunate results. He has been content merely to point out, without belaboring, Taylor's careless terminology and verbal inconsistencies, because he has his eye properly fixed upon the deeper lying consistency of Taylor's thought. "Throughout his writing," says Mr. Mudge, "there is a perception of the close tie between political and economic thought, a realistic investigation of the sources of political action and the motives of political parties." Fully appreciative of this realism, the author employs it in his own analysis of Taylor. He regards Taylor's chief importance, not in the rôle of a constructive theorist (as important as that was) but as a brilliantly destructive critic of the incipient Hamiltonian capitalism of his time from a consistently agrarian point of view. Though generally cautious in his comparisons, Mr. Mudge would appear to be treading thin ice in presenting Taylor as "the antithesis of John Adams in every way." This opinion will probably need drastic revision after Mr. Manning J. Dauer publishes the results of his research on this subject.

Taylor's critique of the system of the "mercenary capitalists," "the aristocracy of the third age," as he called them, was directed primarily against three major manifestations of special privilege: Hamiltonian fiscal policies, Marshall's nationalistic construction of the Constitution, and the protective tariff. Never narrowly political, Taylor showed a subtle awareness of the psychological and sociological elaborations of the Hamiltonian myth and its corrosive influences. Just as the "aristocracy of superstition defended itself by exclaiming, the Gods! the temples! the sacred oracles!" so the new aristocracy "of paper and patronage exclaims, national faith! sacred charters! disorganization! and security of property!"

Simply as a satirist and maker of epigrams (fortunately not omitted by Mr. Mudge) Taylor is worth preserving. Speaking of the "social mischiefs" of exploitation imported by a "little

smiling fat group," he pronounces these mischiefs "so many instruments for cutting off species of property from industry, to enrich capitalists, as the Abyssinian fattens himself with steaks cut from living cows." He then slyly suggests that this is the instrument of Providence to avenge Africans upon the Americans.

Taylor might rest his claim to fame entirely upon his prophecies. He was perhaps the first (1781) to consider the issue of sectionalism in terms of clash of economic systems, agrarian and capitalist, and foresaw civil war on the slavery issue. He anticipated Ruffin in agricultural reform, Calhoun on the tariff question, and the theory of a concurrent majority, Jackson on the Bank's constitutionality, and Douglas on popular sovereignty as a solution to the slavery question—to mention only a few of his triumphs.

Here surely is a heritage worthy of preservation. Mr. Mudge has labored diligently and well toward this end.

C. VANN WOODWARD.

THE UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA,
CHARLOTTESVILLE, VA.

JOSEPH E. BROWN AND THE CONFEDERACY. By Louise Biles Hill. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press. 1939. Pp. viii, 360. \$3.50.)

Mrs. Louise Biles Hill has subjected the public career of the extraordinary Joseph E. Brown, war governor of Georgia, to a microscopic investigation which has resulted in a most satisfactory analysis of a baffling subject. After a brief treatment of Brown's early life, Mrs. Hill plunges into a detailed account of his election to the governorship in 1857 and reelection in 1859. An ardent secessionist and militant defender of slavery, he was cast in an important rôle in the crisis of 1860-61, and by virtue of reelection in 1861 and 1863 he served as governor throughout the lifetime of the Confederacy. At the outset it became apparent that Governor Brown and the Confederate authorities were in disagreement and as time passed this situation became acute. Mrs. Hill states (p. 74) the paradox of Brown's attitude: on the one hand we read of his oft-expressed and "intense desire for political and economic freedom for the South," and

on the other of "his unrelenting hostility to the means necessary to achieve that freedom." Indeed, as the story of the Confederacy unfolded, far more was heard of the latter determination than of the former.

Endowed by nature with an excess of combativeness and persistence, Governor Brown approached all Confederate relations from the viewpoint of an extreme state rights doctrinaire. And issues there were in plenty: from the first he differed with Richmond as to appointment of officers, and control of state troops and their arms. Impervious to "stern necessity," he opposed Confederate finance and tax-in-kind measures, Confederate control of blockade-running and shipping; he opposed Confederate plans for local defense, and was bitterly critical of the suspension of habeas corpus in which he saw military tyranny. From 1862 he vigorously opposed conscription, and was unmoved even by the imminence of Sherman's invasion. In this acrimonious controversy Governor Brown was supported by Alexander H. Stephens and Robert Toombs, although not by the state legislature and judiciary. The point of view of the Richmond government in these controversies was upheld in Georgia by Benjamin H. Hill, Herschel V. Johnson, and Howell Cobb, who at times were able to hold Governor Brown in check.

Of especial interest to the student of American history are chapters IX and X, "Peace Propaganda" and "The Fall of the Confederacy." The efforts of Brown and Stephens to secure a negotiated peace in 1864 and to secure a shake-up of the Confederate administration in the last year of its existence are described and deprecated. To the many reasons assigned by historians as causes for the failure of the Confederacy, Mrs. Hill adds the view (p. 257) that Southern nationalism had not ripened by 1861. Governor Brown failed, in this connection, to understand that state rights, useful to Southern politicians before secession, were unnecessary under the Confederacy because of the "homogeneity of the population and similarity of climate." Thus Brown and many others hastened the collapse of the Confederacy.

It should be noted that Vice-President Alexander H. Stephens was hand-in-glove with Governor Brown in his controversies with the Davis administration, and for this he is severely in-

dicted by the author. The slight, frail, brainy vice-president, long regarded affectionately in Georgia, is referred to (p. 198) as the "wet nurse" of the malcontents, and his brother Linton is described (p. 190) as "the Governor's bosom friend and fellow conspirator," while Brown and Alexander Stephens were on occasion said to be (p. 264) near to "treason." And though he was never so close to Brown, the exigencies of his individualistic philosophy usually placed the brilliant Robert Toombs on the same side. Of course it is well known that outside Georgia there were many able leaders who were disaffected, notably Governor Vance of North Carolina, Rhett, and Yancey.

Mrs. Hill most satisfactorily explains the repeated reëlections which Governor Brown secured in spite of the furor he raised. To be sure, in election years he toned down his antagonism toward Richmond and even pointed to those instances when he had supported the administration, only to renew his onslaught after victory at the polls. But there were other reasons for his great strength with the voters. He was an efficient administrator who demonstrated zeal in helping the poor and the families of soldiers, in the care of Georgia troops, in providing Georgia with salt, and in his successful management of the state railroad. Politically of value—but less creditable—was the liberal exemption policy of the governor.

The later career of Joseph E. Brown is left largely to other scholars. The breath-taking conversion of Brown to Radical Republicanism and his amazing return to the Democratic party, all accomplished with an insouciance that would befit a Machiavelli or a Talleyrand, are briefly recounted in the concluding two chapters. It was this course during Reconstruction which embittered Georgians against Brown, yet he always was ready with plausible justification of his record, and in the end secured "vindication" by an eleven-year tenure in the United States Senate, 1880-1891. In these years Brown, a rich man, an ardent Baptist layman, a philanthropist who could lease convicts to work in his mines, and backed politically by Henry W. Grady, affords a fascinating study in the "New South." It is to be hoped that this important phase will be examined with the same thoroughness which Mrs. Hill has employed in her account of the war years.

It is safe to say that this account will long remain the standard work on the subject. New studies of other Confederate figures are made imperative, notably of Stephens and Vance. The Daughters of the Confederacy are to be congratulated in awarding this scholarly book the Mrs. Simon Baruch University Prize. Students of Southern history have come to look to the University of North Carolina Press as the source of a succession of high quality studies in their subject, and this volume does not disappoint them.

OLLINGER CRENSHAW.

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THE SLAVERY CONTROVERSY, 1831-1860. By Arthur Young Lloyd. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press. 1939. Pp. xi, 337. \$3.00.)

Students of American history have had their knowledge of the facts and the significance of the slavery controversy considerably augmented in recent years by the writings of Barnes, Jenkins, Dumond, Craven, and others; and in consequence they have become increasingly aware of the need of a thorough-going history of all aspects of this great war of words. In deciding to write about this controversy Dr. Lloyd has chosen a subject that certainly deserves attention; it is also a most difficult one. Two aspects of the controversy especially have attracted his attention: its history, to which he has devoted most of the first three chapters and the eighth; and the arguments that were used, especially those evolved by the South, which he presents in considerable detail in the other four chapters. According to Dr. Lloyd, the controversy over slavery grew out of and was a reflection of sectional divergencies between the North and the South. Furthermore, he believes that at every critical moment the North was the aggressor. "The Missouri struggle," he writes, "may be viewed as the first skirmish . . . of the commercial and manufacturing interests to secure political domination of the government for sectional aggrandizement" (pp. 47-48). Although the leaders on both sides realized what was at issue during this first conflict, common folk remained undisturbed until the North launched a second and greater drive

against the slave states in the early 1830's. While Dr. Lloyd does not insist that the abolitionists, who led this second attack, were devoid of humanitarian impulses, he finds nothing but self-interest in the response of the masses. He is convinced that the abolitionists' "propaganda appealed only to the sectional interests" of the rank and file in the North (p. 100). From this study of these and other critical moments he comes to the general conclusion that "basically, these sectional conflicts were more important than the slavery issue, but they lacked the opportunities for an emotional appeal which slavery so conveniently provided" (p. 269).

This is to say that there was more to the slavery debate than appears at first glance. It should be subjected, as it were, to psychoanalysis; for behind lofty arguments for and against slavery were suppressed sectional desires concerning such ignoble and crass things as internal improvements, foreign policy, manufacturing, and public lands. With this approach to the subject held out before him, the reader launches into the chapters dealing with the arguments hoping that he will be shown fresh meanings in the debates back and forth over slavery. But these high hopes are unfulfilled. The unedifying charges and countercharges, attacks and defenses are set forth in much detail (some of the details are new), but so far as this book goes there seems to be very little to the debate over slavery except just a debate over slavery. Dr. Lloyd's thesis seems to have promised something more. His analysis of the controversy does not seem to accord with his views about the significance of the history of the fight over slavery.

In one other respect this restatement of the slavery controversy is open to criticism. The author constantly seems to be intent on having the South come out ahead, and to accomplish this end he throws his weight into the scales in ways that are contrary to the best historical usages. It is sometimes difficult to tell whether he is setting forth Southern arguments as assertions made long ago or as facts that can now be accepted as being fully proven (p. 228, last paragraph). Statements made in documents that were written during the controversy are accepted at their face value (p. 41 *n.* 156; p. 124 *n.* 102). The fact that "many of the Southern States regulated the minimum

rations by law" (p. 136) is accepted as sufficient proof of the assertion that slaves had enough food. Southern clichés of doubtful validity are used to prove important points (pp. 102, 112, 160, 216). In fact, while this book has many good points, the reader finishes it uncertain whether he has been reading a history of the slavery controversy or a belated contribution to it.

CHARLES S. SYDNOR.

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DURHAM, N. C.

HISTORICAL NEWS

Dr. Joseph Hyde Pratt, president of the North Carolina Society for the Preservation of Antiquities, and Dr. C. C. Crittenden, secretary of the North Carolina Historical Commission, accompanied a number of officials of the National Park Service on a tour through the eastern part of the State, March 26-27. Points visited included Nags Head, Roanoke Island, New Bern, Wilmington, and Fort Fisher.

The Caswell-Nash Chapter, Daughters of the American Revolution, on May 5 unveiled a marker in memory of Lieutenant-Colonel Theophilus Hunter, Senior, at "Spring Hill," near Raleigh. Mr. Willis G. Briggs delivered an address.

The Archaeological Society of North Carolina held a meeting on May 19 at the Frutchee Indian mound, Montgomery County. Those who attended were shown the excavations being carried on by the statewide archaeological project of the Work Projects Administration.

On May 20 the city of Charlotte celebrated the 165th anniversary of the signing of "the Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence."

The State Historical Commission coöperated with the Historical Records Survey and the Survey of Federal Archives, both Work Projects Administration projects, in exhibiting the work of these surveys to the public, May 20-25.

The city of Raleigh on May 21 celebrated the centennial of the completion of the state capitol and of the opening of the first railroad to reach the capital city, the Raleigh and Gaston. Governor Maybank of South Carolina, Governor Hoey of North Carolina, Secretary of State Thad Eure, and Mr. W. L. Stanley, Chief Public Relations Officer of the Seaboard Railway, delivered addresses, and there was a parade showing the development of transportation in North Carolina.

During March, April, and May Dr. C. C. Crittenden delivered historical addresses upon the following occasions: March 7, to the student body of Meredith College, Raleigh; April 13, to the state convention of the Sons of the American Revolution, Raleigh; May 3, to the Kiwanis Club of Raleigh; May 23, to the Kiwanis Club of Selma; May 27, at the unveiling of a historical marker at Louisburg College, Louisburg; and May 30, at memorial exercises near Creswell, Washington County. He attended a meeting of the Policy Committee of the Conference of Historical Societies in Washington, June 3, and a meeting of the National Advisory Board of the Historical Records Survey in the same city, June 4-5.

Mr. H. S. Stroup, who last year was a graduate student at Duke University, will resume in the fall his work as instructor in history at Wake Forest College.

Mr. Percival Perry will take graduate courses at Duke University next year. During the past session he was instructor in history at Wake Forest College.

Dr. Joseph Carlyle Sitterson of the University of North Carolina will be on leave of absence during the year 1940-41. He has been awarded a Julius Rosenwald fellowship to study the cane sugar industry in the South.

Dr. R. H. Taylor of Furman University is teaching at the University of North Carolina during the first summer session.

Professor E. M. Carroll of Duke University has been granted sabbatical leave for 1940-41.

Duke University has announced the following appointments for graduate students in history for 1940-41: fellows: Carol Hope Abbett, Minneapolis, Minnesota; Frank Harriss Colley, Washington, Georgia; Harold Schultz, Memphis, Tennessee; scholars: Joseph Ray Baxter, Camp Dix, Kentucky; Leslie Joseph Cleveland, International Falls, Minnesota; Warren Herbert Goodman, Brooklyn, New York; Russell Amos Kirk, Ply-

mouth, Michigan; John Patton Ogden, New York City; assistants: Lawrence Arthur Minnich, Jr., Loraine, Ohio; Marvin August Rapp, Buffalo, New York; Glenn Nolan Sisk, Livingston, Alabama.

Professor Charles S. Sydnor of Duke University has received a grant-in-aid from the Social Science Research Council and will spend the summer visiting state capitals and archives in the South in search of materials on Southern history.

Books received include: Joseph Howard Parks, *Felix Grundy: Champion of Democracy* (University: Louisiana State University Press. 1940); Clement Eaton, *Freedom of Thought in the Old South* (Durham: Duke University Press. 1940); Clarence E. Carter, editor, *The Territorial Papers of the United States*, vols. VII and VIII, *The Territory of Indiana* (Washington: Government Printing Office. 1939); and John Harold Wolfe, *Jeffersonian Democracy in South Carolina* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press. 1940).

Workers of the Historical Records Survey, a Work Projects Administration project, have found a number of important early North Carolina records previously unknown to exist. Two manuscript volumes contain the civil proceedings of the General Court of the province, from July 31, 1713, to March 31, 1730. Another volume includes the original minutes of the governor's council, of which only extracts are printed in *The Colonial Records of North Carolina*. In certain manuscript acts and resolutions of the General Assembly are found records of certain of the State's ports during the 1780's. The discovery of these and other materials may result in the publication of a supplementary series of *Colonial and State Records*.

The North Carolina Historical Records Survey Project, which has been sponsored since its inception in 1936 by the North Carolina Historical Commission, has accomplished a considerable portion of the work it plans to do. Created to locate and prepare lists or inventories of public and semi-public source materials, the work of the survey covers a wide range of mu-

nicipal, county, and state records, church records, manuscript collections, early American imprints, and vital statistics data from tombstones.

The Survey, employing an average of about 110 workers, already has examined and prepared inventories of the county records in all the 100 courthouses in the State. These inventories have been published by the North Carolina Historical Commission in three volumes, *The Historical Records of North Carolina*. In the public records program, now concerned chiefly with the archives of the state government, inventories for three agencies have been published, inventories for five agencies have been prepared and approved for publication, inventories for twenty-one agencies are in draft, and field examinations of the records of approximately fifteen agencies have been completed.

Survey workers have located and listed the records of some 2,000 churches. This work is just reaching publication stage, and three volumes, containing inventories of the records of churches belonging to the Alleghany, Brunswick, and Stanly associations of the Southern Baptist Convention, will soon be issued.

Two publications have been issued in the manuscripts field: the *Guide to the Manuscript Collections in the Duke University Library* and *A Calendar of the Bartlett Yancey Papers in the Southern Historical Collections of the University of North Carolina*. Another publication, the *Guide to the Southern Historical Collections of the University of North Carolina*, has been turned over to the printers. Field work has been almost complete, in the private manuscript holdings of the North Carolina Historical Commission, and a guide to that material is well under way.

The Survey has filed and arranged several hundred thousand documents and early manuscripts in the collections at the University of North Carolina Library and in the archives of the Historical Commission.

In the search for early printed materials in the State, Survey workers have listed more than 54,000 titles of volumes printed in the United States prior to 1877.

A statewide alphabetical file for vital statistics information taken from tombstone inscriptions now contains cards for 140,500 graves covering 4,600 cemeteries.

The work of the Survey of Federal Archives project is now nearing completion. Of the fifteen inventories which the project originally planned to issue, twelve have been finished and more than fifty per cent of the work has been done on the remaining three. The twelve completed inventories are those of the Federal Courts; the departments of the Treasury, War, Justice, the Navy, the Interior, Agriculture (3 vols.), Commerce, and Labor; the Veterans' Administration; the Civil Works Administration; and the Emergency Relief Administration. Unfinished inventories are those of the Works Progress Administration, the Farm Credit Administration, and the various miscellaneous agencies.

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THE NORTH CAROLINA HISTORICAL REVIEW

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CONTENTS

NORTH CAROLINA'S RATIFICATION OF THE FEDERAL CONSTITUTION	287
--	-----

ALBERT RAY NEWSOME

AN ANTE-BELLUM ATTEMPT TO REGULATE THE PRICE AND SUPPLY OF COTTON.....	302
---	-----

THOMAS PAYNE GOVAN

REPERCUSSIONS OF MANUFACTURING IN THE ANTE-BELLUM SOUTH.....	313
---	-----

FABIAN LINDEN

CALIFORNIA'S LARKIN SETTLES OLD DEBTS: A VIEW OF NORTH CAROLINA, 1847-1856.....	332
--	-----

ROBERT J. PARKER and DAVID LEROY CORBITT

THE HORSE SOCIETY.....	347
------------------------	-----

DOUGLAS LETELL RIGHTS

BOOK REVIEWS	356
--------------------	-----

SITTEKSON'S *The Secession Movement in North Carolina*—By
A. J. HANNA; *Old Homes and Gardens of North Carolina*—
By HUGH T. LEFLER; COUPER'S *One Hundred Years at
V. M. I.*—By ROBERT DOUTHAT MEADE; HILLDRUP'S *The
Life and Times of Edmund Pendleton*—By C. C. PEARSON;
CHITWOOD'S *John Tyler: Champion of the Old South*—By
WENDELL HOLMES STEPHENSON.

HISTORICAL NEWS	368
-----------------------	-----

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THE NORTH CAROLINA HISTORICAL REVIEW

VOLUME XVII

OCTOBER, 1940

NUMBER 4

NORTH CAROLINA'S RATIFICATION OF THE FEDERAL CONSTITUTION¹

By ALBERT RAY NEWSOME

One hundred fifty years ago in Fayetteville a convention of the sovereign and independent state of North Carolina ratified the Federal Constitution. By this action it accepted the peaceful revolution by which the United States of America achieved a more perfect union through a change in its fundamental law from the Articles of Confederation to the Federal Constitution. The United States is a comparatively youthful nation with an aged government. So adept have been the American people in the art of self-government that the Federal Constitution has survived in a world of crashing empires, tottering thrones, and changing governments as the oldest operating written constitution among the nations of the world. Under their century-and-a-half-old constitution, the people of this American republic have achieved permanent union, political stability, and national greatness. The sesquicentennial of so momentous an event as the political revolution of 1787-89 merits the attention of North Carolina and the United States.

¹ Presidential address delivered before the thirty-ninth annual session of The State Literary and Historical Association of North Carolina at Raleigh, December 7, 1939. The purpose of the speaker was to present to the Association and the public a timely summary and interpretation of an important event whose history has been well known to historians for several years. He has used the primary sources in making a study of "North Carolina in the Federal Convention of 1787," which is scheduled for early publication; but his chief reliance for this address on ratification was upon the comprehensive monograph by Louise Irby Trenholme, *The Ratification of the Federal Constitution in North Carolina* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1932), written by a trained historian after a thorough study of all available manuscript material, printed documents, contemporary newspapers and writings, and secondary works, which are listed in the classified bibliography at the end of the monograph. The basic primary source for the facts concerning North Carolina's ratification are the rare printed journals of the Hillsboro and Fayetteville conventions, reprinted in Clark, Walter, ed., *The State Records of North Carolina*, XXII (Goldsboro: Nash Brothers, 1907), 1-53; and the debates in the Hillsboro Convention reprinted in Elliott, Jonathan, ed., *The Debates in the Several State Conventions, on the Adoption of the Federal Constitution, as Recommended by the General Convention at Philadelphia, in 1787* . . . , second edition (Washington, 1836), IV, 1-252. The debates in the Fayetteville Convention were not recorded and published.

North Carolina has no claim for leadership in that political revolution. It played no appreciable part in the calling of the Federal Convention of 1787 at Philadelphia. Its decision during the last two crowded days of the legislative session to participate in the Convention was due to the political skill and activity of Governor Richard Caswell, William R. Davie, John Gray Blount, Richard Dobbs Spaight, Archibald Maclaine, and other leaders of a small group of upper-class eastern conservatives, primarily from the plantation, slaveholding, and commercial Cape Fear, Roanoke, and Albemarle-Pamlico Sound regions of the East, whose interests were threatened by the prevailing financial bankruptcy, commercial chaos, and excess of democratic local self-government. The State's planter-lawyer-merchant delegation at Philadelphia, consisting of Hugh Williamson, William R. Davie, Richard Dobbs Spaight, Alexander Martin, and William Blount, was experienced in public office, successful in business affairs, conservative in politics, eminently respectable, and representative of the best in North Carolina public life; but not one of the five represented in his background, social and economic status, opinions, or interests the small-farmer majority of the State's population. In the Convention the North Carolina delegation was comparatively mediocre rather than distinguished in ability and reputation. In the framing of the Constitution it played a creditable and important though not a leading or conspicuous rôle; but it did not represent faithfully the views and wishes of agrarian, radical, provincial North Carolina.

In the movement for the ratification of the Federal Constitution by the thirteen states, North Carolina lagged far behind. It was the seventh state to call a ratifying convention, the twelfth to meet in convention, the first in which two conventions were necessary, and the twelfth to complete ratification—nearly a year and a half after the Constitution had been adopted and more than six months after the inauguration of George Washington as first President.

While the Federal Convention was still deliberating behind closed doors in Philadelphia, the constitutional amendments which it was expected to recommend became an issue in the

contest between the radicals and conservatives for control of the North Carolina legislature. The radicals were inclined to condemn and the conservatives to approve whatever the Federal Convention might do. In the election of August, 1787, charges of fraud were made, new elections were ordered in two western counties, and conservative William Hooper had his eyes blacked in a fight. Disturbed over the defeat of James Iredell and other conservative leaders, Archibald Maclaine observed that "we have a set of fools and knaves in every part of the State, who seem to act as by concert; and are uniformly against any man of abilities and virtue."² The election portended radical control of the next legislature.

Despite opposition of the extreme radicals led by Thomas Person, the legislature on December 6, 1787, called a state convention to consider ratification of the new Constitution, in compliance with the request of the United States Congress. The tax-paying freemen of North Carolina were asked to elect on the last Friday and Saturday in March, 1788, five freeholders from each of the fifty-eight counties and one from each of the six borough towns, who should meet in convention at Hillsboro on July 21, 1788, to act upon the question of ratification. Fifteen hundred copies of the new Constitution were ordered printed for circulation among the people.

A long, vigorous, and somewhat bitter contest ensued between the Federalists who advocated and the Anti-Federalists who opposed ratification. The pre-convention campaign in North Carolina was longer than it had been in any other state and afforded an unusual opportunity for thorough public discussion of the Constitution and the crystallization of public sentiment. There is little reason to doubt that the delegates elected in March were informed of the opinions of their constituents and represented them faithfully in the Hillsboro Convention. The contest was waged by private and public discussion at courts, militia musters, taverns, and churches and by private correspondence, newspaper articles, and pamphlets.

United on the constructive program of immediate ratification and possessing many able and educated leaders, the Federalists

² McRee, Griffith J., *Life and Correspondence of James Iredell* (New York, 1857-58), II, 178.

were more aggressive, better organized, and more effective in the presentation of their cause through newspapers and pamphlets. They presented cogent arguments to convince thoughtful voters that the federal government under the Articles of Confederation was too weak to serve the best interests of North Carolina and the Union and that the new Constitution would provide a stronger federal government essential to the preservation of the Union and the solution of its domestic and foreign problems. They answered Anti-Federalist objections and emphasized the possibility of amendment, if the Constitution should prove to be defective. They publicised the successive ratifications of Delaware, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Georgia, Connecticut, and Massachusetts, noting with particular interest the effective strategy of the Massachusetts Federalists in agreeing to recommend amendments after unconditional ratification had been obtained. James Iredell was the most active supporter and the ablest publicist of ratification, though Hugh Williamson, Archibald Maclaine, William R. Davie, and others were influential in the Federalist campaign.

The Anti-Federalist campaign was based less on formal organization and publicity and more on informal intercourse and appeals to the fears and prejudices as well as to the sober judgment of the people. The Anti-Federalists charged that the Federal Convention by proposing a new constitution rather than a revision of the old constitution had violated its instructions and exceeded its powers, that the new Constitution provided for a federal government whose excessive powers would dwarf the states and menace individual liberty, and that the new government with its aristocratic and monarchical tendencies might be controlled by the conservative eastern business interests to the detriment of the common people. They objected to a standing army, the reëligibility of the President, the powerful judiciary, the congressional control of elections, taxation, commerce, and the federal district. The outlawing of paper money issues and the omission of a bill of rights excited their fears. Baptist preacher Lemuel Burkitt explained to his Hertford County followers the provision for the ten-mile-square area for the seat of government: "This, my friends, will be walled in or

fortified. Here an army of fifty thousand, or, perhaps, a hundred thousand men, will be finally embodied, and will sally forth, and enslave the people, who will be gradually disarmed.”³ Willie Jones, influential radical, an educated social aristocrat with a belief in political democracy, was the chief leader of the Anti-Federalists. In the heat of the campaign, Jones deemed it necessary to publish a denial of the charge that he had called Washington, Davie, and other framers of the Constitution scoundrels; and Thomas Person, patriot general in the Revolution, denounced Washington as “a damned rascal, and traitor to his country, for putting his hand to such an infamous paper as the new Constitution.”⁴ Though the Anti-Federalist cause was supported by few of the State’s most prominent public men, it had many able local leaders who had influence with the people.

Before the March election of delegates to the Hillsboro Convention, public sentiment had crystallized. The Constitution received its strongest support from the more educated, wealthy, conservative, aristocratic planters, merchants, and professional men in the towns and in the commercial and plantation areas of the East; while the great mass of poor, radical, democratic, small farmers of the interior and the West appeared hostile to ratification.

In the March election, the Anti-Federalists won a sweeping victory. Many prominent Federalists, including General Allen Jones, William Hooper, a signer of the Declaration of Independence, William Blount and Alexander Martin, two of the delegates to the Federal Convention, and Judges John Williams and Samuel Ashe, were defeated by their inconspicuous but popular opponents. Stung by defeat, the Federalists precipitated election riots in Hertford and Dobbs counties. In Dobbs, when the counting of ballots forecast defeat for their distinguished ticket headed by Richard Caswell, Federalists knocked over the candles, assaulted the sheriff, and, amid the darkness and confusion, made away with the ballot box. At a special election, in

³ Watson, Winslow C., ed., *Men and Times of the Revolution; or, Memoirs of Elkanah Watson, Including His Journals of Travels in Europe and America, from the Year 1777 to 1842, and His Correspondence with Public Men, and Reminiscences and Incidents of the American Revolution*, second edition (New York, 1856), p. 302.

⁴ McRee, *Life and Correspondence of James Iredell*, II, 224-225.

which the Anti-Federalists did not participate, a Federalist delegation was chosen; but the Hillsboro Convention refused to seat the delegation and left Dobbs County unrepresented.

The public campaign continued from the March election until the Convention met in July. During the interval the Anti-Federalists were discouraged by the ratification of Maryland, South Carolina, New Hampshire, and Virginia. Each of these states except Maryland followed the precedent of Massachusetts in recommending amendments.

When the Hillsboro Convention met on July 21, 1788, the Federal Constitution had already been adopted by the ratification of one more than the requisite number of nine states; and five days later the eleventh state, New York, ratified and recommended amendments as well as a second federal convention to consider the amendments already proposed by five of the ratifying states. By extra-constitutional procedure, the old constitution had been scrapped; and North Carolina was left outside the Union—a sovereign, independent, foreign nation. North Carolina and Rhode Island alone remained technically loyal to the Articles of Confederation and to the old Union. By inaction they became outcasts from the United States, independent nations with no right to participate in the organization of the new government. Their only means of joining the Union was to signify their acceptance of the political revolution by ratifying the Federal Constitution.

The Hillsboro Convention contained a few men of statewide reputation for their ability and service in political and military affairs; but the great majority consisted of substantial landholders with only local influence and prominence. Among the delegates, most of the prominent lawyers, large slaveholders, educated leaders, and representatives of the towns and commercial areas were Federalists, most prominent of whom were James Iredell, Governor Samuel Johnston, William R. Davie, Richard Dobbs Spaight, Archibald Maclaine, John Steele, Stephen Cabarrus, John Gray Blount, and Whitmell Hill. In the debates in the convention, Iredell was the ablest and most active advocate of ratification. The Anti-Federalist leaders of ability, experience and renown included Willie Jones, chief strategist,

Judge Samuel Spencer, ablest debater, Timothy Bloodworth, Reverend David Caldwell, General Thomas Person, General Griffith Rutherford, Joseph McDowell, William Lenoir, Elisha Battle, and James Galloway. As a tribute to his prominence Governor Samuel Johnston was elected president of the convention.

The self-confident Anti-Federalist majority in the Hillsboro Convention did not covet the status of permanent independence for North Carolina; nor was it opposed to union or even to a somewhat stronger federal government. But it believed that the new Constitution created a federal government sufficiently strong and consolidated to impair local self-government, endanger the proper rights and powers of North Carolina, and threaten the civil liberties of individual citizens. Unless the sphere of federal power were restricted and individual liberty and state rights were duly safeguarded by the adoption of amendments to the Constitution, the Anti-Federalists were determined that North Carolina should not ratify.

Confident that the Anti-Federalists were in the majority and that the readiness of the delegates to vote made it unnecessary to waste public money by a long discussion, Willie Jones astonished the Federalists by proposing an immediate vote on ratification. Hoping to win support by delay and by superior skill in explanation and debate, James Iredell and the Federalists persuaded the convention to agree to a discussion of the Constitution clause by clause. Sitting as a committee of the whole, the convention discussed the Constitution for seven days. But Iredell and the Federalists were forced to conduct a somewhat one-sided debate. Though participating in the debate by criticizing some features of the Constitution, the Anti-Federalists did not bring forth and discuss fully all of the objections which they had raised in the campaign. They showed particular concern for protecting civil liberty and the powers of the State. Bloodworth declared that the clause making the Constitution, laws, and treaties of the United States the supreme law of the land would "sweep off all the constitutions of the states" and abolish "the state governments."⁵

⁵ Elliott, *Debates*, IV, 179.

Iredell and the Federalist leaders delivered long, patient, and able explanations and arguments; but they were unable to allay the fears of the Anti-Federalists or convince them of the wisdom of first ratifying the Constitution and then recommending amendments which the State's delegation in Congress would endeavor to secure. The Anti-Federalists desired the amendments in advance of ratification. They believed that North Carolina would be more influential in obtaining amendments if it remained out of the Union. Estimating that probably eighteen months would be required for the adoption of amendments, Willie Jones declared that he had "rather be eighteen years out of the Union than adopt it in its present defective form."⁶ He reported Thomas Jefferson as desirous that nine states ratify the Constitution and set up the new government but that the other four reject it to insure the adoption of amendments. Jones did not know that Jefferson had changed his opinion to favor the Massachusetts plan of ratification with the recommendation of amendments and had expressed the hope that this plan would be followed by the states which were yet to decide the question of ratification.⁷

After some parliamentary maneuvering at the end of the discussion of the Constitution, the Anti-Federalists on August 2 carried a resolution by a vote of 184 to 84, neither rejecting nor ratifying the Constitution, but declaring that "a declaration of rights, asserting and securing from encroachment the great principles of civil and religious liberty, and the unalienable rights of the people, together with amendments . . . ought to be laid before Congress" and a second federal convention "previous to the ratification of the Constitution" by North Carolina.⁸ The convention proposed a declaration of rights consisting of twenty parts and also twenty-six amendments, which followed closely the recommendations of the Virginia ratifying convention. Freedom of assembly, petition, speech, press, and religion were among those inalienable rights of the people con-

⁶ *Ibid.*, IV, 226.

⁷ Jefferson to Carrington, Paris, May 27, 1788, *The Writings of Thomas Jefferson*, VII (Washington, 1907), p. 36; Jefferson to Carmichael, Paris, June 3, 1788, *Documentary History of the Constitution of the United States of America* (Washington, 1894-1905), IV, 680-681.

⁸ Elliott, *Debates*, IV, 242.

tained in the declaration of rights. The amendments were designed to check the power of the federal government, protect the reserved powers of the states, and safeguard the special interests of North Carolina.

The vote in the Hillsboro Convention indicated that the counties of North Carolina were opposed to the Constitution without amendments by a majority of more than two to one. Thirteen counties in the Albemarle-Pamlico Sound area, every borough except Hillsboro, and the scattered counties of Cumberland, Robeson, Lincoln, and Sumner voted for ratification. The remainder of the State was in opposition.

The refusal of North Carolina to ratify the Constitution at Hillsboro was inherent in the provincialism, inertia, and individualism of its people flowing from the physical, social, economic and cultural isolation incidental to meager water transportation facilities and trade. The dangerous coast and inadequate river system of North Carolina resulted in a comparatively small ocean-borne commerce, considerable economic dependence on South Carolina and Virginia, a relatively small commercial and plantation interest located chiefly in the East, and a predominant small-farm economy whose chief stronghold was in the isolated West. The merchants, planters, lawyers, public and private creditors, and educated leaders, who were convinced of the political and economic advantages of a strong federal government, were relatively few in number and confined largely to the towns and to the commercial and plantation areas of the East. The great mass of poor, democratic small farmers, particularly in the land-locked West, were reasonably well satisfied with the weak federal government under the Articles of Confederation. They suspected a constitution in whose framing and advocacy their political enemies, the eastern conservatives, had played the leading part. They saw no need of and positively feared a strong, costly, distant federal government which might tax them, interfere with personal liberty and democratic self-government, and facilitate the exploitation of the common people for the benefit of the small favored ruling class of well-to-do planters, manufacturers, and merchants.

But the triumph of the Anti-Federalists at Hillsboro was short-lived; the course of events was against them. During the legislative campaign in the summer of 1788 and until the legislature met in November, Iredell, Davie, Maclaine, and other Federalists advocated the calling of a second state convention to rectify the mistake made at Hillsboro. The outcome in the November legislature was in doubt. But the Federalists succeeded by a close vote, over strenuous opposition led by Thomas Person, in calling for the election in August, 1789, of delegates to a second convention which should meet in Fayetteville on November 16, 1789, to consider ratification. Though unable to prevent the calling of a second state convention, the Anti-Federalists were able to defeat Federalist efforts to set an earlier date for the election; and, hopeful that the movement for a second federal convention would succeed, they were able to elect a solid Anti-Federalist delegation consisting of Thomas Person, Timothy Bloodworth, William Lenoir, Joseph McDowell, and Matthew Locke.

The modest shift of public opinion after the Hillsboro Convention was so accelerated during the nine-months' campaign for the election of delegates to the Fayetteville Convention that the ranks of Anti-Federalism were broken; and the Federalists swept to victory in the election in August, 1789. Furthermore, the trend of events continued to strengthen Federalism until the convention met in November.

What influences accounted for this swift and striking reversal of opinion in North Carolina?

An important factor was the orderly establishment and effective operation of the new government under the presidency of George Washington in 1789. The legislative, executive, and judicial departments were organized, and laws were enacted to assure ample revenue and to stimulate commerce, manufacturing, and shipbuilding. The United States government began to inspire confidence at home and respect abroad.

Coincident with but largely unrelated to the establishment of the new government was the recovery from the acute economic depression of 1785-86. Returning economic prosperity, in which North Carolina shared, enhanced the prestige of the new gov-

ernment, to whose influence it was in part attributed, and stimulated some reaction in North Carolina against the recently dominant radical party and its inflationary paper money excesses.

Occasional unfavorable criticism of laggard North Carolina and censure of its status of independence in company with Rhode Island, unsavory in its reputation for radicalism and paper money, provoked sensitiveness, particularly among North Carolina Federalists. But in general, the attitude of Federalists in North Carolina and other states and of the federal government was moderate, considerate, and conciliatory.

A skilful and effective campaign of education was conducted by Federalist newspapers and leaders, notably Iredell and Davie who assumed the financial responsibility for the publication of the able debates in the Hillsboro Convention. The public read eulogistic articles about Washington, accounts of returning economic prosperity, cordial addresses exchanged by Governor Samuel Johnston and President Washington, and favorable reports of the activities and growing prestige of the federal government and of its cordial relations with the states of the Union. Prominent members of the Masonic order exerted their influence for Federalism. There were appeals to the spirit of harmony and patriotism, warnings of the perils of independence, and cogent presentations of the advantages of Union. It was alleged that the votes of North Carolina were needed in Congress to strengthen the influence of the South and the movement for amending the Constitution. Repeated stories of the decline of Anti-Federalism tended to accelerate the swing to Federalism.

The public was cautioned that North Carolina was unprepared for the military defense of its extensive territory reaching to the Mississippi River. There was a growing consciousness, especially among the speculators in western land and the people west of the mountains, that the State needed the protection of the United States from the Indians, Spain, and Great Britain.

Economic considerations were of great importance in the reversal of public opinion in North Carolina. Returning economic prosperity seemed to confirm the arguments of Federalists that the new Constitution was a greater safeguard for property, commerce, manufacturing, and public and private credit. Hugh

Williamson had written to Madison in 1788 that "my opinions are not biassed by private Interests, but having claims to a considerable Quantity of Land in the Western Country I am fully persuaded that the Value of those Lands must be increased by an efficient federal Govt."⁹ To the degree that the trade of North Carolina was carried on through the ports of Virginia and South Carolina, the State's economic life was at the mercy of the United States. Economic pressure, implicit in the new federal tariff and tonnage acts which regarded North Carolina as a foreign nation, helped to convince Anti-Federalist farmers that the interests of agriculture and commerce were interdependent and that the interests of both were in the hands of a foreign nation. The admission to the United States of North Carolina-grown or manufactured products free of tariff duty and the suspension of discriminatory tonnage duties on vessels owned by citizens of North Carolina until January 15, 1790, showed that the federal government was friendly and conciliatory but also that it had the power to cripple the commerce of North Carolina.¹⁰

Of great aid to the North Carolina Federalists was the movement in the United States for amending the Constitution. The actions and arguments of the Anti-Federalists had implied a willingness for North Carolina to join the Union if a bill of rights and suitable amendments were first incorporated in the Constitution. Influenced by pressure from Virginia and the four other ratifying states which had recommended amendments and by the desire to secure the ratification of North Carolina and Rhode Island, James Madison asked the House of Representatives in June to consider the question of amendment.¹¹ In August the House adopted seventeen of the seventy-eight amendments proposed by the state ratifying conventions. In September the Senate adopted twelve of these which were submitted to the eleven states in the Union for ratification. They comprised a bill of rights and an explicit statement that the powers not delegated to the United States were reserved to the states or to the people. North Carolina Federalists welcomed

⁹ *Documentary History of the Constitution of the United States of America*, IV, 678-679.

¹⁰ Peters, Richard, ed., *The Public Statutes at Large of the United States of America* . . . , I (Boston, 1861), pp. 48, 69.

¹¹ Hunt, Gaillard, ed, *The Writings of James Madison*, V (New York, 1904), 370-389.

their passage by Congress before the meeting of the Fayetteville Convention and freely predicted their adoption.

The second North Carolina ratifying convention met in Fayetteville from November 16 to November 23, 1789. Governor Samuel Johnston was again elected president. About half of the delegates in the convention were also members of the sitting legislature, which adjourned to permit the convention to meet in Convention Hall. More than two-fifths of the delegates had been in the Hillsboro Convention sixteen months earlier. Again Samuel Johnston, William R. Davie, John Gray Blount, and John Steele were Federalist leaders; but their cause was strengthened by the addition of Hugh Williamson, William Blount, Benjamin Hawkins, John Sevier, and others. Again Samuel Spencer, Timothy Bloodworth, Thomas Person, William Lenoir, David Caldwell, and James Galloway led the opposition. But the Federalists were in easy control of the Fayetteville Convention; twenty-four counties had shifted to the Federalist position since the Hillsboro Convention. After three days of unrecorded debate, the Anti-Federalist minority was defeated in its move to postpone ratification again and lay amendments before Congress for adoption. The five proposed amendments contained restrictions on the federal government and indicate clearly that even the twelve amendments submitted by Congress would not make the Constitution acceptable to the Anti-Federalists. Then on motion of William R. Davie, the convention on November 21 by a vote of 194 to 77 adopted and ratified the "Constitution and form of government" of the United States.¹² The opposition then endeavored without success to secure the convention's endorsement of its desired amendments; but under Federalist direction the convention did enjoin North Carolina's congressmen to endeavor to obtain eight additional amendments to the Constitution.

The Federalists rejoiced that their margin of victory at Fayetteville was even greater than that of their opponents at Hillsboro. Forty-five counties supported and only fifteen opposed ratification. The swing to Federalism had been irresistible except in Sullivan County west of the mountains; Wilkes

¹² *The State Records of North Carolina*, XXII, 48-49.

County, where William Lenoir was influential; and three separated groups of counties. Timothy Bloodworth held four counties in the New Hanover area loyal to Anti-Federalism; Samuel Spencer did likewise with four counties in the Anson area; and Thomas Person, David Caldwell, and James Galloway accomplished the same result with five in the Granville-Guilford area.

On December 1 the Federalists held a grand celebration at Edenton, home of James Iredell and Samuel Johnston and chief center of Federalist influence. The raising of a United States flag in the center of town at sunrise, the display of colors by the vessels in the harbor, a noon salute of twelve guns, a public dinner at which twelve toasts were drunk, and in the evening an illuminated courthouse cupola, a large bonfire, and the display on the flagstaff of twelve lighted lanterns and one dark one for Rhode Island filled a day of "pleasure, joy and satisfaction."¹³

After ratification North Carolina gained easy admission to the Union as the twelfth state. Its Federalist delegation in Congress was seated early in 1790, and Congress extended the federal judicial system and commercial regulations to North Carolina.

The Anti-Federalist minority in North Carolina had opposed ratification to the end and was not satisfied with the mere addition of a bill of rights to the Constitution. Though it acquiesced in the Federalist victory, it retained a suspicious and jealous attitude toward the federal government which was a factor in the early alignment of North Carolina with the opposition Republican party led by Thomas Jefferson.

The North Carolina House of Commons and Senate passed on December 5 and 8, 1789, respectively, the bill to ratify the twelve amendments submitted by Congress in September.¹⁴ But not until 1791 did ten of these twelve proposed amendments become a part of the Constitution. Undoubtedly North Carolina's refusal at Hillsboro to ratify the Constitution was one of the

¹³ *State Gazette of North Carolina* (Edenton), December 3, 1789.

¹⁴ *The State Records of North Carolina*, XXI, 318, 664, 728. Though passed on December 5 and 8, the act seems not to have been ratified by the signatures of the speakers of the two houses until December 22, the last day of the legislative session. Not until May 25, 1790, did Governor Alexander Martin enclose a copy of the act in his letter of notification to President George Washington. The act bore December 22, 1789, as the date of ratification. *Documentary History of the Constitution of the United States of America*, II, 335-339. The act is printed in *The State Records of North Carolina*, XXV, 20-21.

factors in the subsequent submission of amendments by Congress. But, even though it did not like the Constitution, North Carolina did not desire to remain independent. The many factors of union which had earlier drawn it into the United States of America were still operative. Under the influence of complex circumstances, North Carolina ratified the Constitution and joined the Union in 1789 before it knew that any state had ratified any of the twelve amendments submitted by Congress.¹⁵ The tradition that North Carolina was exclusively or chiefly responsible for the submission by Congress of the amendments embodying the bill of rights and that the State withheld ratification until their adoption is not in accord with the facts.

Provincialism, conservatism, and inertia, attributable mainly to a complexity of geographic and economic factors, have caused North Carolina generally to be slow and reluctant to make important changes in the *status quo*. Next to the last state to ratify the Federal Constitution, it was the last state to pass an ordinance of secession in 1861.¹⁶

¹⁵ The first state ratification of the amendments was by New Jersey on November 20, one day in advance of North Carolina's ratification of the Constitution. *Ratification of the Constitution and Amendments by the States* (71 Cong., 3 sess., Senate Document No. 240. Washington, 1931), p. 2.

¹⁶ Randall, J. G., *The Civil War and Reconstruction* (Boston, 1937), p. 254.

AN ANTE-BELLUM ATTEMPT TO REGULATE THE PRICE AND SUPPLY OF COTTON

By THOMAS PAYNE GOVAN

The recent attempts in the United States to regulate and control the price and supply of cotton have dramatically called attention to a problem that is almost as old as the cotton trade itself. It was as important to the planters of the *ante-bellum* years as it is to the planters of today. Cotton was raised in the South, but its price was largely determined in the Liverpool market—controlled by financial and business conditions in England, not by the needs or desires of the planters. There was no way in which the unorganized, widely scattered planters could insure a regular and profitable return from their crops. This was a constant grievance to the planters and there were many remedies suggested for it.

One of the earliest of these was originated in 1839 by John G. Gamble of Florida and James Hamilton, Jr., of South Carolina.¹ It had no immediate connection with the sectional struggle and included amongst its enemies factors, commission merchants, politicians, and newspapers in the South as well as in the North. It was directed almost entirely against England, where combinations of the spinners to reduce production and the restrictive policies of the Bank of England were seemingly joined together to force down the price of cotton in spite of a deficient crop in America. Their proposal made no attempt to reduce acreage, to restrict production, or to provide for governmental intervention. Its whole purpose was to develop an organization which would enable the planters to hold back a part of the supply from the market when demand was low so that the price would remain constant and profitable.

The plan was never put into operation, and speculation as to its possible results is useless. Its chief importance is to demonstrate that in the old South as well as in the new some of the planters believed an organization was needed to control supply in the interest of price, and, incidentally, it would seem to in-

¹ Gamble to Nicholas Biddle, April 30, 1839, Biddle MSS., Library of Congress; Robert Y. Hane to James H. Hammond, June 18, 1839, Hammond MSS., Library of Congress; *New York Journal of Commerce*, June 12, 1839.

dicating that the planters did not oppose a high tariff because of abstract objections to restriction upon commerce, but merely because they considered it to be injurious to their interest.

Both Hamilton and Gamble were primarily men of affairs, not politicians or theorists. The former had been governor of his State and president of the Bank of South Carolina, and, in 1839, was acting as financial agent of the Republic of Texas and at least one railroad in the South. Gamble was president of the Union Bank of Florida and, like Hamilton, was a planter in his own right. Both were on friendly terms with Nicholas Biddle, president of the Bank of the United States, and it is almost certain that it was the cotton operations of the bank under the direction of Biddle which first suggested to them the need for some control of the supply of cotton.

The Bank of the United States and the other banks along the coast were being pressed by the demand for gold from the interior and for the payment of maturing debts in England when the panic of 1837 occurred. Biddle believed that the financial system of the United States could be preserved only "by persuading the London money market to absorb more American securities in liquidation of the most pressing obligations, and . . . by extending sufficient credit to American planters and cotton factors to enable them to hold their stock for a rise in the price of raw cotton." On March 29, 1837, he announced the intention of the bank to sell post-notes maturing within ten to eighteen months to the amount of \$5,000,000. These post-notes immediately commanded a premium of 12½ per cent and were widely used for the payment of balances owing in England, where, because of the high standing of the Bank of the United States, they were accepted even by the Bank of England.²

Cotton shipments were the principal means of settlement of foreign balances, and had to be relied upon ultimately to retire the post-notes and to pay the American debts in England. Any continued decline in the price of cotton would thus have a disastrous effect not only on the planters and holders of cotton in the South but also the bank and others owing money in England. Biddle thereupon devised a plan to maintain the price

² Jenks, Leland Hamilton, *The Migration of British Capital to 1875* (New York, 1927), pp. 89-90.

of cotton and to prevent the financial crisis from completely drying up the markets in the South. Agents under his personal control were sent into each of the Southern markets with authority to draw on Bevan and Humphreys, merchants of Philadelphia, for the means whereby to make sufficient purchases of and advances on cotton to prevent the complete collapse of prices. The firm of Humphreys and Biddle was organized in Liverpool and the cotton was consigned to it for disposal. This firm kept most of its cotton off of the Liverpool market through the spring and summer of 1838, and then, through fortunate circumstances, disposed of its whole supply at a profit during the autumn. "Cotton recovered rapidly in value and a saving estimated at from ten to twenty-five million dollars was effected for American planters and merchants. By November, 1838, the mercantile indebtedness had been paid in full."³

Nicholas Biddle resigned as president of the Bank of the United States in the spring of 1839 after it had been announced that the bank was no longer continuing its interference with the cotton market. At the same time there was a slackening of the demand for cotton, and in March, 1839, prices began to decline in spite of the fact that the crop of 1838 had been much shorter than that of 1837. There were many reasons for this. Political and financial difficulties had occurred in Belgium, Egypt, China, and the Argentine which reduced the market for finished cotton goods. Continental weavers were making no new purchases of English yarns, and the failure of the English grain crop necessitated large expenditures for the purchase of foodstuffs on the continent. These large demands strained the gold resources of the Bank of England, and the bank, to protect itself, was forced to adopt a restrictive policy which, incidentally, closed the money markets of England to Americans. Simultaneously the English spinners, faced with a curtailment of their markets and of financial aid from the banks, "agreed to terminate their competition for supplies of cotton, restricted their purchases, and went on short time."⁴

³ *Ibid.*, p. 91.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 95-96; *London Bankers' Circular*, July 12, 1839, quoted in *Hazard's Commercial and Statistical Register*, I (1839), 157-59; *Manchester Guardian*, July 3, 1839, quoted in *ibid.*, pp. 89-90; Tooke, Thomas, *A History of Prices and of the State of the Circulation from 1793 to 1856* (London, 1838-1857), III, 63-67.

Gamble and Hamilton, along with other planters, were worried by these developments which were bound to reduce drastically the price of cotton unless some steps were immediately taken to prevent the remaining stock of cotton from being thrown at once into the market. A new agency to take the place of "the great and tenacious holder" of the previous year would have to be devised or the spinners of England, through short time and the restrictive policies of the Bank of England, would "have the residue of the crop" at their own price. They, apparently, went to S. V. S. Wiler, New York correspondent of Hottinguer and Company of Havre and associate of Nicholas Biddle in cotton speculations both before and after this date. He agreed to their plan, and, on June 6, 1839, an unsigned circular on the cotton trade was issued from his office.⁵

The circular reviewed the cotton situation and then suggested that the whole of the cotton crop going forward be concentrated in one house in Liverpool "by an arrangement for unfailing adequate and *collateral aids, sufficiently powerful* to enable the house in question to hold over until a greater part of the present stock of cotton in England is worked off at an advanced price." To carry out this procedure it was announced that an advance of fourteen cents per pound would "be made on every bale in this country at all their principal shipping points, to all holders. . . . The consignments were to go forward to Humphreys & Biddle, who sustained by adequate means on both sides of the water will be able to hold on until prices vigorously rally." If the next season's crop were short, the plan would result in great profit to the shippers, but if it were large, the writers of the circular predicted, the great stock held by Humphreys and Biddle "would probably induce the *great and powerful interest* which sustains them to enter the market in the United States early in the autumn, by advancing on the first quarter of the crop in order to retain it on this side of the water for a reasonable period, so as to make the first result of the short crop of 1838 *entirely safe to all American shippers and holders.*"⁶

The circulars were unsigned; but they were issued by Wilder,

⁵ New York Journal of Commerce, June 6, 1839.

⁶ *Loc. cit.*

an associate of Biddle; several references were made to "the great and powerful interest" that had previously sustained the cotton market; and the cotton was to go forward to Humphreys and Biddle in Liverpool. It was, consequently, immediately assumed that the circulars had been sent out by representatives of the Bank of the United States, and that it was the beginning of a new attempt by the bank to control the cotton crop.⁷ Wilder immediately denied this and said that the circular had been issued by "some of the holders of cotton in this country, who seek to protect their own interest by a concert of action," and that he had offered to make the advances named to facilitate the export of cotton then in New York.⁸

On July 5, 1839, Gamble and Hamilton, having persuaded other Southern planters and politicians to associate themselves with the proposal, issued another circular inviting planters, factors, bankers, and cotton merchants of the South to meet at Macon, Georgia, on October 22, 1839. This circular was signed by N. A. Ware and J. J. Hughes of Mississippi; John G. Gamble and D. K. Dodge of Florida; Thomas E. Turtt, W. H. Pratt, J. L. Hunter, and Henry Hilliard of Alabama; D. P. Hillhouse and A. B. Davis of Georgia; Nathan McGehee of Louisiana; George McDuffie and James Hamilton, Jr., of South Carolina; and John Branch of North Carolina. It proposed that one or more of the banks in each of the cotton markets of the South should commence advancing the following autumn at a conservative price (12½ cents was the suggested figure) on the estimated crop of 1,600,000 bales. For these advances the banks should issue to the planters, merchants, and factors of the country, on the production of the bill of lading and the assignment of the policy of insurance, post-notes of such description, and payable at such periods, as the convention, called by the circular, should suggest. By this arrangement, the drawers of the circular believed, the cotton could be held at least six months in Europe without the foreign consignee being under an advance of a single cent, and the houses to which the shipments were sent

⁷ *Ibid.*, June 11, 14, 1839.

⁸ *Ibid.*, June 12, 17, 1839. It seems certain that the bank had no connection with this circular, though some of its officers may have been informed of its preparation. For other denials of any connection of the Bank of the United States see Philadelphia *National Gazette* and Charleston *Courier* quoted in Macon *Georgia Messenger*, June 20, 1839; Samuel Jaudon to editor of *The Times*, June 28, 1839, *The Times* (London), June 29, 1839.

could be given sufficient strength to hold for even a longer period, should safe, remunerating prices not be obtained on the maturity of the bills.⁹

The principal citizens and merchants of Macon immediately met, endorsed the principles of the circular, and organized a committee to make arrangements for the convention. The response elsewhere was not so enthusiastic. The Jackson, *Mississippian*, a Democratic newspaper, said:

The ultimatum of the scheme, if carried into effect, will be to establish as the settled policy of the country the post note system . . . it is essentially opposed to *free trade*, and contemplates the establishment of a stupendous monopoly of the trade of the South by the banks, to the prejudice and ruin of all individual enterprise . . . we trust it will be universally repudiated by the intelligent planters of our State;—it is indeed time that the combinations of a few individuals with banks, to defraud the great mass of producers should be ended, and every attempt of the banks to engage in traffic, peculiar to merchants, should be frowned upon.¹⁰

This was followed in two weeks by the "Address of the Democratic State Rights Convention to the People of Mississippi," which reviewed the whole history of the intervention by the banks of Mississippi and the Bank of the United States in the cotton market, and said:

A circular has lately been issued by a combination of individuals in six of the Southern States, proposing that a combination of the banks in those States shall advance on the shipment of cotton twelve and a half cents per pound. . . . A more extensive scheme of public plunder was never, perhaps, projected in this country. . . . It presents the framework of a bubble which swells far beyond the romancing genius of the famous John Law. . . . Without impugning the motives or honesty of the operators in this speculation, it is obvious that the scheme proposed increases the opportunities of fraud.¹¹

Southern factors attacked the circular. Robert Y. Hayne, whose son was entering the commission business in Charleston, wrote to James H. Hammond, "The late 'Cotton Circular' is making a great stir here. . . . I confess for my own part, I distrust *much* the beneficial effects of any combination whatever to

⁹ Macon *Georgia Messenger*, July 18, 1839.

¹⁰ Jackson *Mississippian*, September 6, 1839.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, September 20, 1839.

affect prices, either at home or abroad. The thing is very difficult to accomplish, and if affected, does in general, at least as much harm as good, while the failure of the attempt is positively injurious."¹² Another factorage house in Charleston devoted the larger part of its annual review of the cotton market to an adverse criticism of the plan, saying:

It has been suggested that a Convention be held in Macon, Georgia, in October next, for the purpose of adopting measures that will counteract any combination formed on the other side of the water, to depress our Great Staple below its real value . . . all combinations formed by the Manufacturers of Europe have been for self-protection, and they will not curtail their hours of labour (let the price of Cotton be what it may) while they can realize a profit on their Yarns and Manufactured Goods. . . . The price of Cotton, Yarns and Goods must be regulated by the supply and demand, and any measures adopted by a Convention, under the garb of protection, and acted upon would force the raw material above what the course of trade would naturally carry it, and would in the end prove ruinous to the Agricultural and Commercial interests of the whole Union. Much has been said respecting the Bank of England curtailing her issues for the purpose of depressing the price of Cotton; there is no doubt but the operations of that Bank, will, as far as possible, prevent speculation from advancing the price of the raw material beyond what would be safe for the Manufacturing interest, at the same time her influence is much lessened, as the bulk of the operations in Cotton are sustained by the Joint Stock Banks.¹³

The English cotton buyers in America, however, seemed less excited by the circular than the American cotton merchants. One, writing to an associate in England, described the circular, and commented that it was "very lengthy & hard upon the spinners & Bank of England," but closed his letter with the casual statement, "I hope you may be enabled to get some good orders of Cotton as I think a fair business will be done in it next season."¹⁴ The Liverpool and London papers mentioned each of the circulars and showed some slight signs of alarm as long as it was thought that the United States Bank was the instigator

¹² Hayne to Hammond, June 18, 1839, Hammond MSS.

¹³ Printed circular of Robinson and Caldwell, Charleston, September 6, 1839, Singleton MSS., Southern Collection, University of North Carolina Library. In this denial of the influence of the Bank of England on the cotton market the writer ignored, probably because he did not realize its importance, the efficacy of the newly established power of the Bank of England over the Joint Stock Bank through the raising and lowering of the bank rate.

¹⁴ Horace Sistare, Savannah, to Godfrey Barnsley, July 26, 1839, Godfrey Barnsley MSS., Manuscript Division, Duke University Library.

of the movement. When this was found to be untrue, they dismissed the whole subject and turned their attention to the more serious financial crisis that was already affecting the economy of the country.¹⁵

George McDuffie, the chief Southern defender of the principle of "free trade," was stung by the criticisms of the circular in the South, and made public defense of his connection with it. He stated that on his return from Europe he had met two other planters (probably Gamble and Hamilton) in New York and had discussed with them the state of the cotton market and the combination of the spinners and bankers of England to depress the price of the staple. The circular had been issued after he had left New York and his name had been affixed to it by a friend "upon the implied authority derived from a very strong intimate friendship, and from my own concurrence in the general principles and objects developed in that document."

McDuffie had led the defense of the Bank of the United States in the House of Representatives during Jackson's attack upon it. He believed in a national banking system and had consistently opposed the indiscriminate increase of state banks and their circulation. He, therefore, objected to the suggested issue of "post notes payable at remote periods," or to the idea of a large cotton bank in the South, which had been added during the discussions of the circular. But this opposition to these incidental features did not extend to the general principle of the plan to bring stability and uniformity to the cotton trade. "No banking operation," he said, "can be more legitimate than that proposed by the Circular." It would give to the Southern banks a constant supply of foreign exchange. The planter would have the advantage of the prompt conversion of his cotton into cash as soon as it reached the Southern market, and a period of six or seven months in which to avail himself of favorable changes in the markets.

Many persons in the South, he continued, had expressed apprehension that the circular would cause combinations against the South. Some of the newspapers had even encouraged such combinations by charging the writers with "hostile and offensive combinations," when they proposed only to assume a de-

¹⁵ *Liverpool Times*, June 25, July 2, August 20, 1839; *The Times*, June 29, 1839.

fensive position "to resist such combinations abroad, and to avoid the necessity of glutting the markets in moments of panic or temporary or unnatural depression."

They proclaim our weakness, and exaggerate the power of the adversary . . . the European manufacturers, now notoriously combined to force down the price of cotton, in the face of the most deficient crop ever made. . . . If it were to come to a war of combinations, which God forbid, it is utterly untrue, that we should be powerless in such a contest. . . . Our cotton is absolutely indispensable to the manufacturing and commercial nations of Europe, and by withholding a single crop, we could spread starvation and rebellion over all the manufacturing portions of Europe . . .

As to combinations abroad, they exist already, and have recently carried their power to the utmost stretch. They have had to give way, and a reaction is already commenced. . . . The idea that other cotton countries will rival and supplant us, is utterly visionary . . . the combination of slave labor, with highly intelligent proprietors present to direct their operations—a combination which exists nowhere else in the world, is the great and sufficient cause of that superiority in our cotton planting, which will forever defy all competition, until fanaticism shall reduce us to the condition of St. Domingo and Jamaica. . . .

One writer exclaims 'let trade alone to regulate itself' and another is so very absurd as to consider this effort of the planters to place their property out of the reach of foreign combinations, by preventing its accumulation in the hands of speculators, without capital, as a gross violation of the principles of free trade! . . . The planters . . . dispersed as they are, have been so long and so habitually sheared, that those who have enjoyed the golden fleece, seem now to regard it as a vested right. It is high time to break the illusion . . . and if any class in our Southern communities choose to take side against us, and even become the advocates of the foreign manufacturers . . . , they must be taught that the planters constitute the first estate in the empire of Southern commerce, and are not to be driven or flattered, or wheedled from their just purposes, by the combined forces of speculators and editors.¹⁶

Meanwhile Hamilton had sailed for Europe to make the necessary arrangements in England and on the continent. Five mercantile firms, including Humphreys and Biddle, in Liverpool, and seven in Havre agreed "to take the agency of receiving and disposing of such consignments of cotton from the South, as may go forward in accordance with such measures as may be adopted by the convention." Vincent Nolte, the great

¹⁶ George McDuffie to the editor of the *South Carolinian*, reprinted in *Macon Georgia Messenger*, October 3, 1839.

cotton speculator, who had just failed in New Orleans for the second time, accompanied Hamilton and agreed to act as general supervisor of the cotton operations of the planters in Europe.¹⁷

Mays Humphreys, principal partner of Humphreys and Biddle, at Hamilton's request, drew up a general report on the cotton situation in Europe for presentation to the convention.¹⁸ He sent it to Biddle in Philadelphia, who must have decided that it was inadvisable for the firm to appear as an active participant as there is no record of Humphreys's report being presented to the convention. Biddle himself had been asked to become a party to the arrangement, although he was no longer connected with the Bank of the United States. Early in the spring Gamble had written him enclosing an outline of the proposed operation, and both Gamble and McDuffie had requested him, during the summer, to give them the support of his influence, but there is no record of a reply from Biddle.¹⁹ It seems certain, however, that he took no part either in the preliminary organization or in the convention itself. After it had been held he wrote to Humphreys, enclosing the report of its proceedings, and said, "I do not know that they will produce much direct effect. But this places the House in a most conspicuous position before the country as the protectors of the Southern interest, and will predispose any inclined to ship to prefer our house."²⁰

When Biddle wrote this letter it was already too late and he probably knew it. Financial difficulties on the European continent, accentuated by the restrictive policies of the Bank of England, had done their work. The world was in the grip of a panic, and early in October the banks of Philadelphia, Baltimore, and the Southern states suspended specie payments. Bills of the Bank of the United States had been refused by Hottinguer and Company, and the firm of Humphreys and Biddle was to last but a short time longer.

The convention was held on October 22, 23, and 24, 1839, but the attendance was not large. Hamilton reported on his ac-

¹⁷ Macon *Georgia Messenger*, October 24, 1839; Nolte, Vincent, *Fifty Years in Both Hemispheres or Reminiscences of the Life of a Former Merchant* (New York, 1854), pp. 436-437.

¹⁸ Humphreys to Biddle, September 19, 1839, Biddle MSS.

¹⁹ Gamble to Biddle, April 30, August 20, 1839; McDuffie to Biddle, July 26, 1839, *ibid.*

²⁰ Unsigned rough draft of a letter in Biddle's handwriting obviously to Humphreys, November 14, 1839, *ibid.*

tivities in Europe. Thomas Butler King of Georgia drew up a long report proving the necessity for some agency that would protect the cotton planter against the spinners and the Bank of England, as Humphreys and Biddle with the aid of the Bank of the United States had done in 1838. But it was of no use. Planters and merchants, pressed by their creditors, had to sell their cotton for what it would bring. Banks, instead of making advances, were demanding payments from their debtors and each other to meet obligations of their own. Specie payments and normal business relations were not resumed until 1841 and later. When this happened the careful plans of Hamilton and Gamble were forgotten or ignored. The cotton trade remained as it had been without apparent change as a result of their activities. Here, as later, cotton planters talked much but did little about this important problem—a problem which was to contribute to the causes of a civil war, and then to enslave supposed “free” people in a tangled economic maze which led to the exploitation of the human material and the exhaustion of the soil of one of the great areas of the nation.

REPERCUSSIONS OF MANUFACTURING IN THE ANTE-BELLUM SOUTH*

By FABIAN LINDEN

The movement for a "home industry" in the Old South was another expression of the sectional conflict that was to culminate in civil war. The growing aggressiveness of the industrial North exposed the inadequacies of the cotton economy. Each new crisis in the South brought forth attendant panaceas, of which the movement for manufacturing gained widest support, for its proponents held that only a "diversified economy" could make the South truly independent.

But, as will be seen, the movement was sown on barren ground. The economic and social measures necessary for its success conflicted with the interests of the planters, and this challenge aroused a determined opposition. But, perhaps more important, the institutions engendered by a slave economy denied Southern industry the very conditions essential to its growth.

The agitation for manufacturing, latent since the 1820's, emerged with renewed vigor during the agricultural depression of the 1840's. In that decade the price of cotton hit an all-time low. While the average price for the period sank to approximately 8 cents a pound, cotton sold in 1844 for 5.6 cents and at times yielded as little as 2 or 3 cents.¹ This was in contrast to the 12.3 cents of the preceding decade. As a consequence profit on capital in agriculture during the '40's was seldom higher than four per cent and was often as low as two per cent.² With the ever increasing cotton production of the Southwest, little hope could be held out for an immediate upturn. On the contrary, predictions of utter impoverishment and systematic breakdown of the slave system were rife.³

* The author is indebted to Dr. John Musser of New York University for the suggestion of this title.

¹ Gregg, W., *Essays on Domestic Industry; or, An Inquiry into the Expediency of Establishing Manufactures in South Carolina* (Charleston, 1845). Reprinted in: Tompkins, D., *Cotton Mill Commercial Features* (Charlotte, N. C., 1899), p. 213. Never before and not again until 1897 did the price of cotton drop so low. U. S. Department of Commerce, *Cotton Production and Distribution*, Bull. No. 169, pp. 57-59.

² DeBow's *Commercial Review of the South and West* (New Orleans, 1846-70), VIII, 137.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 502; *Nile's Weekly Register* (Baltimore, 1811-49), LXVIII, 104.

Manufacturing, on the other hand, was enjoying a relative prosperity. In the depth of the depression, cotton mills were reporting large profits. The DeKalb mill claimed to yield dividends from 10 to 15 per cent, while factories near Augusta, Georgia, were paying as high as 20 to 30 per cent on investments.⁴ And even the warning of William Gregg, the leading advocate of diversification, to prospective investors "not to look for more than 10 per cent, 12 per cent or 14 per cent on investments"⁵ represented a bountiful return in contrast to the prevalent levels of agricultural profits.⁶ Thus the primary contention of the pro-manufacturing elements was that industry promised better returns on dollars invested. And, indeed, successes of enterprises like the DeKalb, Graniteville, and Prattsville mills constituted a most convincing argument.⁷

The diversificationists did not, however, stop here. They searched every possible aspect of the Southern scene for factors favorable to their cause. They pointed to the visible geographic advantages of the South, its location close to the sources of raw materials. It was estimated that the local manufacturer could save more than twenty per cent on freight charges and on the absence of wastage from transportation which was a constant irritation to Northern cotton manufacturers.⁸ This made possible both a cheaper and superior final product. Thus while Northern factories produced yard-wide No. 14 sheeting for \$5.26, Gregg's mill at Graniteville was turning out the same cloth for \$4.84, and took first prize for quality at a Philadelphia exhibition.⁹

Other sectional assets were pointed to. Rich deposits of coal and iron, an abundance of forests and water ways, the mildness of the climate, and the 20,000 miles of Southern seacoast were

⁴ *DeBow's Review*, VII, 373; XVIII, 788; Mitchell, B., *William Gregg: Factory Master of the Old South* (Chapel Hill, N. C. 1928), p. 109.

⁵ *Hunt's Merchant's Magazine and Commercial Review* (New York, 1839-70), XXII, 107.

⁶ During the tariff debates of 1842, George McDuffie expressed the prevalent attitude of the pro-manufacturing elements. "Abandon your fields, for their crops are blasted as they rise. Sell and sacrifice your lands and appropriate the proceeds to the establishment of manufacturing. As we have not had the spirit to resist the oppression, let us have the wisdom to repair the ravages." *Congressional Globe*, 28th Congress, 1st session, Appx. 108.

⁷ Boyd, M. C., *Alabama in the Fifties*, *Columbia University Studies*, No. 353, (New York, 1931) p. 60; Buck, P. H., "The Poor Whites of the Ante-Bellum South," *American Historical Review*, XXXI (1926), 50.

⁸ *DeBow's Review*, III, 3; VIII, 41; *Hunt's Merchant's Magazine*, XXII, 108; Hammond, J. H., *An Address Delivered before the South Carolina Institute at its First Annual Fair* (Charleston, South Carolina, Nov. 20, 1849), p. 36.

⁹ *DeBow's Review*, VIII, 514.

all offered as positive evidence that the South could adequately support industry.¹⁰

A major economic advantage was the presence of a large and cheap labor supply. A large mass of "poor whites," as well as sections of the slave population rendered idle by a non-profitable agriculture were seen as potential factory hands.¹¹ Gregg put the number of poor whites in South Carolina alone at 125,000 while *DeBow's Review*, in 1860, counted them at several millions for the entire South.¹² This "mass of unemployed white labor" was seen as a boon to rising industry. Their needs, due to the climate and their habitual way of life, were small; hours of labor were longer in the South than in the North; and they were virgin to the factory, unversed in "haggling and striking for wages." Moreover, argued Gregg, should trouble arise with white industrial workers, capital could turn to the large reserve of the Negro population.¹³

The slaves, indeed, were seen as ideal for this purpose. Here was an opportunity for plantation owners to transform the liability of idle slaves into a productive asset.¹⁴ Moreover, it offered to industry a cheaper and more pliable type of labor: more pliable because slaves could not protest hours or conditions of work, nor were they subject to protective legislation; and cheaper, because as slaves their maintenance could be kept at minimum. The DeKalb mill reported that a Negro worker cost \$75 a year in contrast to \$116 required for a white operator, while Salude estimated a saving of 30 per cent by the use of slaves. The more enthusiastic judged that the South's labor costs would be 50 per cent less than those of the North.¹⁵

"Bring the spindle to the cotton," became the sloganized spearhead of the diversification movement. By 1840 the growing need for home industry was recognized at the commercial

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, VII, 490; VIII, 14, 373, 505, 518.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 138; Olmstead, F. L., *A Journey in the Back Country* (New York, 1907), II, 128.

¹² *DeBow's Review*, XI, 133; XXIX, 227.

¹³ *Ibid.*, VIII, 513; Mitchell, William Gregg, p. 143.

¹⁴ Flanders, R. B., "A Forgotten Man of the Old South," *Georgia Historical Quarterly*, XV, 156.

¹⁵ DeBow, J. D. B., *The Industrial Resources of the Southern and Western States*, 3 vols. (New Orleans, 1853), III, 127; *DeBow's Review*, III, 96; VIII, 139; Hammond, M. B., *The Cotton Industry*, *American Economic Association New Series*, No. 1, 1879, p. 91; Ingle, E., *Southern Sidelights* (New York, 1896), pp. 75 ff.; *Hunt's Merchant's Magazine*, XXII, 107.

conventions.¹⁶ In 1853 a committee was established to popularize, particularly in Europe, Southern industrial opportunities. A year later several governors were asking for the creation of state committees on manufacturing. The Whigs justified their position of non-intercourse with the North on the ground that it would stimulate home industry.¹⁷ An annual increase of millions in the income of the South was predicted if the section took to manufacturing.¹⁸ On the other hand, the precariousness of the single crop system was pointed to, for a sudden emergence of a formidable cotton-growing competitor or the failure of a year's crop would result in sectional ruin.

Another factor having serious political repercussions was the sharp disproportion of population growth between the North and the South. While in 1800 the national population was almost equally distributed, the South was, scarcely fifty years later, clearly a minority section having only approximately 40 per cent of the total.¹⁹ This reflected itself inevitably in decreased representation in the federal government. In 1860 the House seated 85 Southern representatives as opposed to 163 from the North.²⁰

The rapidity of Northern expansion was attributed for the most part to foreign immigration. By 1860 about 20 per cent of the Northern population had come from Europe, while only six per cent of all Southern white inhabitants were foreign-born.²¹ It was contended that the industrial opportunities which kept immigrants in the North were relatively non-existent in the South. Thus Barnard predicted that a flourishing home industry "would detract something from the increase of the Northern population and add something to ours."²²

¹⁶ Clark, V. S., "Manufacturing During the Ante-Bellum and War Years," *The South in the Building of the Nation* (Richmond, Virginia, 1909), V, 317; Wender, H., *Southern Commercial Conventions*, *Johns Hopkins University Studies*, XLVIII, No. 4, *passim*.

¹⁷ Clark, V. S., *History of Manufacturing in the United States* (New York, 1929), I, 555; Barnard, F. A., *Oration Delivered Before Citizens of Tuscaloosa* (Tuscaloosa, Alabama, 1851); Cole, A. C., *The Whig Party in the South* (Washington, 1913) pp. 206 ff.

¹⁸ *DeBow's Review*, VIII, 145; 515. Hamilton Smith of Kentucky claimed that the Southern planter, with an investment of \$738,000 made but \$80,000 or 10 per cent profit, while the manufacturer, investing but \$260,900 received \$106,000 or 40 per cent. These figures were frequently quoted by diversificationists. *DeBow's Review*, VII, 59; VIII, 19, 51, 486.

¹⁹ *Eighth Census*, 1860, Population, Introduction, p. xx.

²⁰ Carpenter, J. T., *The South as a Conscious Minority* (New York, 1930), p. 15.

²¹ Mitchell, B., *The Rise of the Cotton Mills in the South*, *Johns Hopkins Studies*, Series XXXIX, No. 2 (Baltimore, 1921), p. 31.

²² Barnard, *Oration*, p. 27. Cf. *Hunt's Merchant's Magazine*, XXI, 6, 499; XXIX 227; Wender, *Southern Commercial Conventions*, p. 199.

The growing migration of the population from the South Atlantic states to the Southwest aggravated the problem considerably. Soil exhaustion in the older states rendered cultivation, well-nigh profitless, and rather than risk capital in rehabilitation efforts planters sought virgin soil in the West. Hammond calculated that South Carolina slaveholders "carried off" 8,300 Negroes a year, transferring them "from a soil producing to the head twelve hundred pounds . . . to one that yielded eighteen hundred pounds."²³ Hence the cotton production of the Atlantic coast states showed in 1860 an increase of only 44 per cent over the preceding decade as contrasted with the corresponding increase of 153 per cent for the Southwestern states.²⁴

This development of the Southwest at the expense of the older states, it was contended, could lead only to sectional disaster. For as the population of the free states grew in density, its invasion of the abandoned northern portions of the South could not be staved off. Slave territory, on the other hand, would become increasingly limited. From the point of view of the plantocracy, this could lead only to a disastrous loss of political strength and to a dangerous concentration of the slave population.²⁵ To stem the migratory tendency a diversified economy was required, claimed the proponents of industry. Manufacturing offered plantation owners, now abandoning exhausted lands, a new field for investment of their capital and slaves. Thus it would serve not merely to increase the population but to stabilize it as well.

Diversificationists also made advantageous use of Southern irritation with the glaring evidences of Yankee exploitation. Most of the profits in cotton-growing went, it was felt, to fill the pockets of New England manufacturers. Raw cotton,

²³ *DeBow's Review*, VIII, 502. Once having started, it was expected that this migration would continue at an even greater pace. For planters in the older states were unable to compete with the cheaply produced cotton of the Southwest, and soon would be forced to seek more productive soil. Taylor, R. H., *Slaveholding in North Carolina: an Economic View*, John Sprunt Historical Publications, Vol. XVIII, Nos. 1-2, pp. 56, 67.

²⁴ Hammond, *Address*, p. 84; Hawk, E. Q., *Economic History of the South* (New York, 1934), p. 232.

²⁵ This idea was perhaps best developed by Edmund Ruffin in his article, "The Effects of High Prices of Slaves," *DeBow's Review*, XXVI, pp. 647-57. Although he makes no mention of manufacturing, he nevertheless demonstrates that soil exhaustion in the older states would result in the loss of Southern territory to the North. See also an earlier article in the same publication written by M. Tarver. He voices the Southern fear of a concentrated slave population. *Ibid.*, III, 213.

shipped to Eastern mills for fabrication, returned "bearing on its back the charge of carriage to and fro, of manufacturing, of commissions, insurance and heavy profits of the merchant."²⁶ Yet the cotton kingdom had only to adopt industry, it was argued, and the home market would be supplied at a "just price," and at the same time adequate profit would be assured to both its manufacturers and plantation owners.²⁷ Political leaders reflected the indignation of the cotton states when they brandished the threat of Southern competition over the heads of Northern industrial interests. "What then should we do," bitterly questioned Senator McDuffie of South Carolina. "Why Sir, as we should have the slavish privilege of doing what you had not prohibited us from doing, we should . . . direct our capital and industry from agriculture to manufacturing."²⁸ And the Virginia Senator Mason suited action to the word by appearing in Washington dressed entirely in homespun.²⁹

Economic aggression from the North, however, could not entirely explain away inherent weaknesses in the plantation system itself. The dislocation of large masses of people, the "poor whites," from the sources of production, had created a disquieting situation. For it had become increasingly evident that they could find no place in the plantation economy. Uneducated, unproductive, and frequently criminal, they constituted a burden to Southern society, the dangers of which the planter class could not fail to perceive.³⁰ "It is this great upheaving of our masses that we are to fear," cautioned *DeBow's Review* in 1850, "so far as our own institutions are concerned."³¹

It was therefore from pure self-interest that plantation owners were urged into widespread manufacturing. For, it was argued, with the slaves engaged in agriculture and the whites in the factory, every freeman would, as a matter of class preservation, become a "firm and uncompromising" supporter of the

²⁶ *Ibid.*, VIII, 99.

²⁷ *New York Herald*, May 21, 1859; Cf. *DeBow's Review*, VIII, 484.

²⁸ *Congressional Globe*, 23th Congress, 1st Session, Appx. 108.

²⁹ Learning of Mason's gesture, Lincoln whimsically suggested that a certain consistency of the Senator would oblige him to walk barefoot through the halls of Congress. Cole, A. C., *The Irrepressible Conflict* (New York, 1934), p. 67.

³⁰ Hammond, *Address*, p. 232; *DeBow's Review*, VIII, 139.

³¹ *Ibid.*, VIII, 25; Buck, P. H., in his comment on "The Poor White of the Ante-Bellum South," holds that "there took shape a movement of discontent which promised to wrest the political leadership from the hands of the gentry and overthrow . . . monopoly of the plantation system."

slave system.³² Even those who doubted the imminence of open revolt could not fail to perceive the value of converting a non-productive group into a productive one. Thus industry was held to be a bulwark at once against internal and external enemies.

Convincing and justified as the arguments in behalf of "home industry" were, there was nevertheless launched against it a bitter opposition. Plantation owners clearly recognized in this movement a formidable threat to their interests. Diversificationists, however, realized that without the support of the plantocracy their plans to bring the spindle to the cotton would collapse, and hence put forward every effort to enlist their sympathy. They passionately urged the planters to take cognizance of a crisis in their own economy, and pointed out that their interests were inseparable from those of the entire section.³³ Thus it was contended that with industry increasing the demand for slaves, the value of both Negroes and cotton would be "enhanced." Further, as Southern capital flowed away from the plantation into the mill, the restriction of cotton production would also result in the rise of prices. And, conversely, since the demand for cotton fabrics was held to be unlimited, an increase in the number of factories would lead inevitably to a higher price for cotton. Finally, increased land values were promised on the basis of the predicted growth of industrial towns. In brief, manufacturing would stabilize rather than destroy the plantation economy.³⁴

Increasingly it was accepted that political independence could be achieved only through economic emancipation. Early in 1861, when sectional animosity was near the breaking point, Gregg wrote, "We trust that it has been manifest to the people of the South that a prosperous state of commerce and manufacture is . . . absolutely necessary to render us politically in-

³² Hammond, *Address*, p. 34; Olmstead, F. L., *The Cotton Kingdom* (New York, 1862) II, 357. For other arguments of a social nature advanced in support of home industry, see *DeBow's Review*, III, 188, 198; VIII, 26, 508; XXIV 386; *Barnard Oration* p. 26.

³³ Characteristically, *DeBow's Review* held that the success of manufacturing was dependent upon "whether the agriculturist shall forget his fear of injury to his slave property, and shall grasp the hand of his brother, the manufacturer, who is really ready and able to increase the value of his product three-fold. . . . In a word, it is whether the plow, the loom, and the anvil shall be brought together in harmony and success." *DeBow's Review*, VIII, 25; Cf. *ibid.*, III, 199.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, III, 195 ff.; VIII, 15-27; Mitchell, *William Gregg*, p. 302.

dependent.”³⁵ Others, however, believing open conflict inevitable, foresaw the weakness of an agrarian economy in time of war and urged the immediate establishment of factories as an absolutely essential military precaution.³⁶

Thus the agitation for industrialization sought, in the most practical terms, to win adherents from among the people of the South and, most particularly, the plantations.

The slaveholders, on the contrary, relentlessly hostile to the rising “menace,” fought determinedly to block the establishment of factories. William Gregg, James H. Taylor, Richard F. Reynolds, A. H. Brisbane, all leading figures in the movement for manufacturing, complained bitterly of the opposition they met at “every turn.”³⁷ “Surely there is nothing in cotton spinning,” sardonically commented *DeBow's Review*, “that can poison the atmosphere of South Carolina.”³⁸

The hostility was encountered on all sides. The state legislatures erected effective legal barriers to fledgling industries. Charters of incorporation, so vital to the development of large-scale projects, were frequently denied, and those finally passed contained provisions that hampered their effectiveness. In 1837 the *Greenville Mountaineer* denounced as “an act of legalized fraud” a bill before the North Carolina legislature which authorized limited partnerships.³⁹ Gregg, in chartering his Graniteville mill, applied circumspectly to both the Georgia and South Carolina legislatures, and while the latter reluctantly legalized his venture, Georgia gave him an outright refusal.⁴⁰

In the current journals the planters' views had powerful exponents, blending argument with vituperation in abundant measure. The Southern climate and the lack of skilled labor, as well as the essentially “rural character” of the people, were deemed unsuitable for so “complicated” a pursuit as manufac-

³⁵ *DeBow's Review*, XXX, 102.

³⁶ *DeBow's Review*, XXIX, 625; XXX, 221.

³⁷ Mitchell, *William Gregg*, p. 73; Russell, R. R., *Economic Aspects of Southern Sectionalism*, *University of Illinois Social Studies*, XI, Nos. 1 and 2, p. 54; Ingle, *Southern Side-lights*, p. 69.

³⁸ *DeBow's Review*, VIII, 138.

³⁹ Boucher, C. S., *The Ante-Bellum Attitude of South Carolina toward Manufacturing and Agriculture*, *Washington University Humanistic Studies*, Series IV, Vol. III, Part II, No. 2 (St. Louis, 1916), pp. 252-3.

⁴⁰ Gregg, *Essays*, p. 34. Confronted with these difficulties, Gregg wrote his pamphlet on *An Inquiry into the Expediency of Granting Charters of Incorporation for Manufacturing Purposes in South Carolina*.

turing.⁴¹ Hostility to the North was turned effectively against industry as a "Northern Corruption." Politicians branded manufacturing, bearing with it the vice, poverty, and ignorance of the cities, as incompatible with Southern culture and liberty. George Fitzhugh, author of *Sociology for the South*, villified "the filthy, crowded, licentious factories . . . of the North."⁴²

Such agitation had for decades succeeded in massing popular sentiment against industry. During a South Carolina political campaign the *Free Press and Hive* "exposed" candidate William Preston by revealing that his brother had invested in a manufacturing enterprise. Even so remote a connection with the hated pursuit, it was believed, would decrease Preston's chances for victory.⁴³ Thus the political and social fashion was determined largely by the views and interests of slaveholders.

Their position, however, was clearly defensive, for essentially they saw in manufacturing a threat to their interests. Professor Beard has suggested that the planter's hostility to industry be attributed to his "rural habits of life" and his "tribesman's instinctive dislike for unaccustomed ways."⁴⁴ But beneath "rural habits" and tribesman's instincts lay a more fundamental desire to protect vested wealth and power, which acknowledged in industry a formidable rival. Allowed to develop unchallenged, it might engulf the whole of Southern economy. Thus manufacturing was seen as a Trojan horse, and Graniteville, Prattsville, DeKalb, Vancluse, and Salude were the invading columns of the enemy.

A social change was believed inevitable. The *Southern Quarterly Review* warned that once industry established itself firmly on Southern soil, the agricultural class would perforce lose its position. It was precisely this, it was pointed out, that had taken place in the North which now, with tolerant patronage, could refer to its "honest" and "sturdy" farmers. The *Review* urged resistance against "the efforts of those who, dazzled by the splendors of Northern civilization, would endeavor to imi-

⁴¹ *Hunt's Merchant's Magazine*, XXII, 27; *Nile's Register*, LXVIII, 104; *Southern Quarterly Review* (Charleston, 1842-56), XXVI, 434.

⁴² *DeBow's Review*, XXIII, 587; Cf. Fitzhugh, G., *Sociology for the South* (Richmond, Va., 1854), pp. 18 ff.

⁴³ Similar campaigns were waged against Judge William Smith and a James Chestnut. Boucher, *Ante-Bellum Attitude of South Carolina*, pp. 233-234.

⁴⁴ Beard, C. A. and M. R., *The Rise of American Civilization* (New York, 1937), I, 657.

tate it," which, it held, could be done "only by the destruction of the planter."⁴⁵

An immediate threat was seen in the proposals of industrialists to introduce immigrant workers as a source of skilled labor. Planters stood squarely against it. Foreigners, bringing with them European anti-slave traditions, were susceptible to abolition agitation. Moreover, those immigrants that ventured South were rarely able to buy themselves into the slaveholding class, but immediately became laborers, and as such resisted slave competition. The *Morehouse Advocate*, a Louisiana newspaper, stated the case simply: "The great mass of foreigners who come to our shores are laborers, and consequently come into competition with slave labor. It is to their interest to abolish slavery; and we know full well the disposition of man to promote all things which advance his own interests."⁴⁶

Immigration, moreover, tended to strengthen as a class the non-slaveholding whites, a situation which the planters viewed apprehensively. Already indications of a developing "class consciousness" were beginning to appear among the white factory workers. As early as 1824 signs of industrial organizations in the large cities had made themselves felt. Baltimore, Charleston, New Orleans, Richmond, Savannah, and Wilmington had labor organizations.⁴⁷ Later, in the 1830's, strikes for higher wages and shorter hours had become a common occurrence. Even Graniteville, the pride of Gregg and his followers, felt the tremors of labor difficulties when, in 1857, the workers made formal demands for increased pay, and probably "quit work in an effort to get it."⁴⁸

Slaveholders recognized the danger in labor's organization; it had, in fact, already come into conflict with their interests. In North Carolina the Raleigh Workingmen's Association challenged an old revenue law which taxed mechanics' tools more

⁴⁵ *Southern Quarterly Review*, XXVI, 448-51.

⁴⁶ Quoted by Hawk, *Economic History*, p. 226. In a somewhat different vein, but more characteristic, is the following, taken from a newspaper of the 1850's: "A large proportion of the mechanical force that migrate to the South, are a curse instead of a blessing; they are generally a worthless, unprincipled class . . . enemies to our peculiar institution . . . pests to society, dangerous among the slave population, and ever ready to form combinations against the interests of the slaveholder. . . ." Quoted in Clark, "Manufacturing During the Ante-Bellum and War Period," *Building of the Nation*, V, 213-214.

⁴⁷ Cole, *Conflict*, p. 37; Flish, J. A., *The Common People of the Old South*, American Historical Association, *Annual Report*, 1908, I, 139; Buck, "Poor Whites" pp. 41 ff.

⁴⁸ Mitchell, *William Gregg*, p. 61; Bruce, K., *Virginia Iron Manufacturing in the Slave Era* (New York, 1931), pp. 244 ff.

heavily than slave property.⁴⁹ More fundamentally, organized labor, fearing a reduction in its wage standards, was demanding that Negroes be kept out of mechanical pursuits. Indications of strife between the groups were not wanting. A farm building in North Carolina built by colored labor was destroyed, and suspicion was focused on a white organization for the elimination of Negro competition.⁵⁰ In 1845 the Georgia legislature made the employment of a Negro mechanic or mason illegal, and similar legislation was being considered in other states. So strong had grown the popular feeling against Negro labor in industry that C. G. Memminger, a leader in Southern affairs, predicted, in a letter to Hammond, that "ere long we will have a formidable party on the subject."⁵¹

In this situation slaveholders faced a dilemma. On the one hand, legislative limitation on the use of slaves restricted not only their powers but an immediate source of profit, for planters had turned in the crisis to industry to hire out their idle Negroes. More significantly, however, a victory for organized white labor set an ominous precedent, which, if left unchallenged, would lead only to more restrictive demands on the part of the new-fledged class. Slaveholders feared lest, with Negroes out of industry, the cities fall into the hands of native and foreign whites who would legislate for their own interests and perhaps become an abolitionist bulwark. L. W. Spratt, editor of the *Charleston Standard*, expressed this apprehension when he wrote that "they will question the right of masters to employ their slaves in any works that they may wish for; . . . they may acquire the power to determine municipal elections; . . . thus the town of Charleston, at the heart of slavery, may become a fortress of democratic power against it."⁵²

On the other hand, many believed that even greater danger was to be apprehended from the employment of slaves in the factories. It was feared that a slave, made mechanic, was more than half freed.⁵³ Moreover, an absorption of slaves from the

⁴⁹ Boyd, W. K., *North Carolina on the Eve of Secession*, American Historical Association, *Annual Report*, 1910, p. 175.

⁵⁰ Flish, *Common People*, p. 140.

⁵¹ Boucher, *Ante-Bellum Attitude of South Carolina*, p. 256.

⁵² Extract from a letter of L. W. Spratt of Charleston to John Perkins of Louisiana. Quoted by Phillips, U. B., *Plantation and Frontier* (Cleveland, 1910), II, 178.

⁵³ *DeBow's Review*, VIII, 518.

plantation to the factories meant essentially a contraction of the plantations, for the blacks used in industry were needed in the agricultural expansion movement of the 1840's and 1850's.⁵⁴

Thus, in essence, the rise of manufacturing forced upon the plantocracy the choice of paths leading to its eventual engulfment. To join in keeping the slaves out of industry meant actually to support and strengthen the rising industrial classes which were by nature set in opposition to the slaveholder. To allow, on the other hand, the slave to become a member of an industrial society was tantamount to giving him the weapon with which to gain his own freedom. Moreover, it would serve as an immediate springboard for the organization of the white worker. In either case the forces for manufacturing stood ultimately to gain at the expense of the slaveholding economy.

A more immediate threat to planters' interests, however, was a high national tariff. Thus resentment against the loom was intensified by the popular Southern belief that manufacturing implied the acceptance of a protectionist policy.⁵⁵ Apprehension was felt that Southern industrialists would inevitably join forces with the North in its demand for a high tariff.

The pro-manufacturing element, recognizing that the South's hatred of the tariff would be wielded against home industry, sought to forestall the attack. Gregg, in 1850, astutely denied he favored protection. In a letter to Governor Seabrook of South Carolina, he pointed to the low cost of production at Graniteville as a major factor in disarming "all opposition from those who fear that we may deliberately join the Northern people in a clamor for protection. . . ."⁵⁶

Diversificationists saw the wisdom in leaving the job of keeping out foreign goods to the Yankees, whose congressmen were notoriously adequate in this direction. But as the North had sought the tariff as a guard against European competition, what was to protect the infant industries of the South from the North? New England's superior capital reserve gave her a pow-

⁵⁴ In 1860 Thomas Kettle claimed that the slave population was entirely inadequate for the labor required in the cotton fields. He held that while in 1820 there were three slaves for every bale of cotton produced, by 1860 less than a single slave was available for the same unit of work. *Southern Wealth and Northern Profits* (New York, 1860), p. 159. The rapid rise in slave prices in the 1850's lends credibility to Kettle's estimates.

⁵⁵ Channing, E., *A History of the United States*, V (New York, 1930), 76.

⁵⁶ Quoted by Russell, *Economic Aspects*, p. 155; Cf. Mitchell, *William Gregg*, p. 22.

erful advantage over her undeveloped Southern rival. She could, if need be, sell her goods below cost in the slave states in order to drive "home industry" into bankruptcy. Northern-made goods did, in fact, force many Southern products off the market.⁵⁷

Some form of sectional protection for the fledgling factories was evidently necessary. Many recommendations were made, of which three types may be discerned. First, and most frequently proposed, were bounties and tax exemptions. Many prominent figures sympathetic to industry advocated that such benefits be granted Southern manufacturers; some states did indeed exempt home industries from one or another state tax.⁵⁸

In the second group were proposals which called for the levying of discriminating taxes against goods manufactured in the North. Typical of these was the bill which came before the North Carolina legislature in 1850, recommending the imposition of a 10 per cent tax on all goods entering from free states. Among the more aggressive supporters of this plan were listed J. H. Hammond, Governor Floyd of Virginia, and Senators McDuffie and Rhett.⁵⁹

Finally, proposals were made for an export tax to be imposed on raw cotton. Such a tax, it was believed, would give Southern mills an insurmountable advantage over all competitors whose source of raw material was the South.⁶⁰

These plans for sectional protection, however, once again demonstrated to the plantations that the interests of industry ran counter to their own. Specifically, each recommendation brought forward a new point of conflict. A tax on incoming manufactured goods would have the same effect as a high national tariff; an export tax on cotton would, for its part, result in a decreased demand, and at the same time encourage England to look for a new source of supply; and lastly, tax discriminations and bounties would mean in essence that the plantations were levied in support of industry. More basic than these objections, moreover, was a consideration of the principle upon which they rested.

⁵⁷ *DeBow's Review*, XXIX, 280, 627.

⁵⁸ Georgia, Virginia, South Carolina, and Alabama. Clark, *Manufacturing*, p. 555; Wender, *Southern Commercial Conventions*, p. 138; *DeBow's Review*, XVII, 225.

⁵⁹ Russell, *Economic Aspects*, p. 161; *DeBow's Review*, VIII, 249-51.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, VIII, 50, 485. The legal obstacle involved here was naturally not overlooked. It was proposed that the planters petition Congress to amend the Constitution, authorizing the imposition of export duties.

The very demand for sectional protection implied an acceptance of the entire protectionist theory. An implied admission of this lay in the plea of Senator Rhett, when, urging prohibitory duties as a dam against Northern goods, he maintained that "if the protective policy is wise and just with foreign nations, it must be equally so between the States."⁶¹

The fears of the slaveholders that the manufacturing element would go the whole hog in their demand for protection were not far-fetched. While Gregg gave assurances in 1850 that he would never join the "clamor for protection" we find him a decade later writing uncompromisingly in favor of the tariff.⁶² His about-face was typical, for more and more Southern newspapers were turning to an outright advocacy of protection. Wrote one paper, the *Jackson Southerner*: "The people of the South and West, who until recently were opposed to protection are retracing their steps almost unanimously."⁶³

Thus the planters found ample justification for the conviction that "home industry" was at bottom the Yankee foe attacking from within.

A far more formidable obstacle than planter opposition, however, was the slave system; for the impracticability of manufacturing lay within the character and institutions of the plantation economy. Slavery denied industry its fundamental needs: skilled labor, liquid capital, and a receptive market.

The use of slaves in industry, which had held great promise to the new manufacturers in the early 1840's, proved unfeasible in actual practice. Slaves transplanted from the plantations to the factories failed to make productive mill hands, for, since they were hired out for the period between planting and picking, the constant alternation between the land and loom prevented even a gradual accumulation of industrial skill.

This could be obviated by the outright purchase of slaves, but that in turn entailed even greater difficulties. First, buying slaves meant a larger immediate outlay of capital. It was estimated that the initial investment would have to be increased by

⁶¹ *Congressional Globe*, 28th Congress, 1st Session, Appx., p. 658.

⁶² *DeBow's Review*, XXX, 103 ff. Here Gregg takes an unequivocal stand for protection.

⁶³ Among those papers taking a pro-tariff position were: *The Savannah Republic*, *Richmond Whig*, *Columbus Enquirer*, and *Savannah Georgian*. Cole, *Whig Party*, pp. 94-95.

as much as 50 per cent, and that in the face of a constant insufficiency of funds. Secondly, bought labor was precisely the factor industry could not endure. The ownership of slave labor would freeze Southern industry at the start, denying it the capacity to expand and contract with relative ease. While an increase in production would demand a much larger outlay for the purchase of additional slaves, any slight depression, on the other hand, would bring relatively greater losses. Slaves, unlike free labor, could not be "fired" and thrown onto the open market; on the contrary their maintenance persisted, independent of profit or loss. Moreover, the forced sale of Negroes in a depressed market, like that of any other superfluous commodity, would entail great losses. Conversely, during prosperous periods, the competitive demands of manufacturers and planters would serve to inflate the price of slaves, perhaps even beyond their productive value.⁶⁴

Manufacturers had no choice but to turn to the whites for a labor source. (The free Negroes were too negligible a group to supply completely even the early needs of industry.) But the "poor whites," having for generations been unable to find a progressive place in the Southern system, had degenerated into a backward, sickly people, unskilled in any craft and difficult to train, while the non-slaveholding independent farmers, who were no less unskilled in industry, were reluctant to give up independence to sink to the level of "hired" help.

Hence an immediate solution was sought in the importation of skilled foreign and Northern workers. Such an experienced group would at least partially answer the technical needs of industry, and at the same time serve to train the native whites. Here, too, however, the economic and social conditions engendered by a slave economy proved an almost insurmountable barrier. The standard of living set for the slave influenced the level for all Southern labor, and this was below that established in an industrial society. Yet even if higher wages were paid, none of the facilities making for a higher standard of living in manufacturing centers were available in the South. Further, where slaves did the manual labor a social stigma attached it-

⁶⁴ See above, pp. 323-324.

self to all physical work.⁶⁵ But foreigners, seeking improvement in their social as well as economic status, were as reluctant to accept social degradation in a backward system as they were to accept a standard of living set for slaves. Olmstead noted that New England factory girls, lured by high wages offered in Georgia mills, found conditions so unpleasant that they soon returned to the free states.⁶⁶

Side by side with a shortage of trained labor, Southern manufacturers were faced by a shortage of capital. For the wealth of the section was fixed in the expensive agrarian economy. Planters, rather than look to new and precarious forms of investment, turned instinctively to the improvement and expansion of their plantations. Moreover, industry was unwelcome in the South and hence there was a psychological reluctance to support it. Encouraged by the increasing world demand for cotton and the ever-present promise of higher prices, planters reinvested profits in land and labor. Nor did Eastern business men show an enthusiasm to invest in the dubious and untried South while the North and West were expanding sections offering relatively sure opportunities for profitable investment.⁶⁷

The character of Southern industry during this period was determined largely by its dependence for financial backing almost solely upon the small investments of some few slaveholders and upon the initiative of scattered individuals. Both the scarcity of capital and the agrarian character of investors are aptly illustrated by the Nesbit Company of South Carolina, where no less than \$34,000 of the capital stock was paid for in the form of slaves.⁶⁸ Not infrequently individuals embarking in industry had to set up independent mills, for, unlike the North, the South had but a small middle class to which to sell its stock. Hence the size, as well as the number of industrial enterprises, was limited by the scarcity of investors' capital. As the follow-

⁶⁵ Barnard, *Oration*, p. 22; *Southern Quarterly Review*, VIII, 460; *DeBow's Review*, XXIV, 383; Olmstead, *Back Country*, II, 129; Cf. Russell, R. R., "The General Effects of Slavery upon Southern Economic Progress," *The Journal of Southern History* (February, 1938), 37-40.

⁶⁶ Olmstead, F. L., *Seaboard States*, p. 455; quoted in Phillips, *Plantation and Frontier*, II, 341.

⁶⁷ For an able contemporary discussion of this entire problem of capital shortage see: *DeBow's Review*, XVIII, 768 ff; *Hunt's Merchant's Magazine*, XXXXII, 378.

⁶⁸ Channing, *History*, V, 76. The primary agrarian interests of investors frequently embarrassed the mills. When prices on cotton went up, planters were likely to withdraw their capital from industry and reinvest in agriculture. On the other hand, many planters paid for stock in installments and a fall in prices often made it impossible for them to meet their obligations.

ing table demonstrates, Southern cotton mills were at all times substantially smaller than similar New England establishments.⁶⁹

Section	Year	No. of Plants	Capital Invested	Capitalization of Avg. Plant
New England.....	1840	675	\$34,931,000	\$ 52,000
	1850	564	53,832,000	95,000
	1860	570	69,260,000	122,000
South	1840	248	4,331,000	17,000
	1850	166	7,256,000	44,000
	1860	159	9,596,000	60,000

The scattered and unconcentrated quality of Southern industry handicapped it badly in competition with the North. To each establishment it meant concretely a relative increase in the cost of production. As J. H. Taylor, the treasurer of Graniteville, pointed out, a superintendent who received a salary of \$12,000 to \$15,000 a year could manage a mill of 12,000 spindles as efficiently as one of 3,000. And this was equally true for the fireman, machinist, overseer, and engineer.⁷⁰ Consequently, New England mills, which were by 1860 more than twice the size of Southern factories, could produce cheaply enough to compete effectively with the cotton states in the home market.

While, on the one hand, the plantation system denied Southern industry adequate capital, the system required it, on the other, to maintain a large liquid reserve. Planters bought on credit in anticipation of the profit on their growing crops, and unless a company could gear itself to the "advance system" it could not hope to sell in the Southern market. Naturally, New England mills, in virtue of their superior reserve, could meet this requirement more readily than could Southern mills. While Lowell sold cloth to the South on a six-to-ten-month credit basis, "home industry" allowed little more than sixty days.⁷¹

Constant lack of reserves, moreover, prevented the pioneer manufacturers from purchasing raw materials cheaply in depressed markets. On the contrary, becoming increasingly mortgaged to Northern banks, from which they sought loans in times

⁶⁹ Based on *U. S. Census of Manufacturing*, pp. 54 ff.; Donnell, E. J., *Chronological and Statistical History of Cotton* (New York, 1872), p. 643.

⁷⁰ *DeBow's Review*, VIII, 24 ff.

⁷¹ *Hunt's Merchant's Magazine*, XXI, 628.

of crisis, they were forced to dump goods, frequently at a substantial loss, in order to meet maturing obligations.

Adding to the difficulties of Southern industrialists was the inadequacy of the home market. Traditionally, the North was the manufacturing section, and as such was believed to produce superior and more fashionable goods. Consequently, while there was a "rage" for the "Yankee-made," Southern products gathered dust on the shelves. And despite a widespread campaign in behalf of home patronage, the prejudice persisted.⁷² But quite apart from this psychological attitude, the slave system failed to produce a significant buying public. The consumption of the slaves was kept at a minimum, and the whites were similarly geared to a low standard of living. Hence, since the middle and industrial classes, which constitute the largest spending groups in a manufacturing society, were still undeveloped, the burden of buying fell on the planters. But they, unfortunately, preferred the "Yankee-made."⁷³

The movement to bring industry to the early South can thus be seen as an attempt to impose a "foreign system" upon a preponderantly agrarian economy. As such it challenged the *status quo*, arousing the adamant opposition of the dominant interests. Materially, moreover, it attempted to build where there was but slight foundation, for, as we have seen, the inherent nature of the prevailing economy denied it the elements essential to its growth.

It was only after the abolition of slavery that home industry was able to dig its roots into Southern soil. Not until 1880 did the South, politically and economically free, witness its first unhampered spurt of industrial growth. While in 1880 there was as little as seventeen millions invested in cotton mills, ten years later the capitalization had grown to over fifty-three millions.⁷⁴ This phenomenal increase is all the more remarkable in contrast to the increases of two or three million for the pre-war decades. Undoubtedly many factors were responsible for the tremendous

⁷² See Gregg, W., *Southern Patronage to Southern Imports and Domestic Industry*; DeBow's Review, XXIX, 77-83, 225-232, 494-500, 623-631, 771-778; XXX 102-104, 216-223. In an effort to catch the section's trade some mill owners labelled their products with false trade marks, giving the impression that the goods had been imported into the South. Hawk, *Economic History*, p. 239.

⁷³ In 1860 the proportion of the population, by sections, working in industry was: New England, 1 to 15; Western States, 1 to 48; South, 1 to 82. Clark, "Manufacturing," I, 580.

⁷⁴ Mitchell, *Rise of Cotton Mills*, p. 63.

acceleration in the rate of growth, but fundamental among these influences was abolition.⁷⁵

Yet the significance of Southern ante-bellum manufacturing should not be underestimated. For although it was planted on alien soil it had established itself, and by dint of unwavering persistence, had slowly emerged as a force in Southern life. Its major contribution, however, was psychological in character. For it succeeded in breaking down, bit by bit, the deep-rooted traditional prejudices against manufacturing. Many planters, at first hostile toward "home industry," were made to recognize the economic desirability of having at least a semi-industrial South.⁷⁶ It was, perhaps, wiser to risk the inherent dangers of industrialization than to be "exploited" by an ever stronger North. But even more important, the persistence of diversificationist propaganda succeeded largely in reducing the popular antagonism of the South. Significantly, many states gave official sanction to manufacturing. During the 1850's numerous laws of incorporation were passed, and these were noticeably more liberal.⁷⁷ Certainly the industrial emergence of the ante-bellum period can not be ignored in any study of the "New South."

⁷⁵ Robert R. Russell attributes the backwardness of ante-bellum industry to "a number of reasons . . . few of which have much relevance to slavery." *Slavery and Southern Economic Progress*, pp. 46-52. While the diverse factors he introduces, e.g., climate, topography, natural resources, profitable agriculture, lack of transportation facilities, etc., may have been contributing circumstances, it still remains necessary to explain the phenomenal growth of post-bellum manufacturing in terms other than the effects of abolition. M. T. Copeland attributes this growth "to a change in the attitude of the people themselves and [sic] to the release from the system under which all their savings had to be invested in slaves." *The Cotton Manufacturing Industry of the United States, Harvard Economic Studies*, VIII, 1912, pp. 33-34. Professor E. Q. Hawk holds substantially the same view. *Economic History*, p. 477. Broadus Mitchell, who has made the most comprehensive study of the problem, also implies acceptance of this position when he draws attention to the scarcity of industrial capital in the slave South and contends, later, that the rise of the cotton mills in the "New South" was financed largely by local capital. *Rise of Cotton Mills*, pp. 22-25. Cf. p. 233.

⁷⁶ Bruce, *Virginia Iron Manufacturing*, p. 274.

⁷⁷ Boucher, *Ante-Bellum Attitude of South Carolina*, p. 254; Russell, *Southern Sectionalism*, p. 44; Clark, "Manufacturing," I, 555.

CALIFORNIA'S LARKIN SETTLES OLD DEBTS: A VIEW OF NORTH CAROLINA, 1847-1856

Edited by ROBERT J. PARKER and DAVID LEROY CORBITT

Yankee Thomas Oliver Larkin came to North Carolina in 1821 at the age of nineteen. He spent the following ten years in business in various parts of the State, leaving for Massachusetts in May, 1831.¹

Because of poor health and fortune, and on the advice of his half-brother, John B. R. Cooper, Larkin decided to go to California. After a strenuous voyage around the Horn, he arrived in Monterey in 1832. A year later, in business for himself, he was introducing new methods to the trade.

Successful as a merchant and builder, he soon accumulated a fortune. By May, 1843, he was United States consul, and after 1845, a secret and confidential agent of President Polk. Later he was naval agent and naval storekeeper. Larkin played a silent but powerful role in the American acquisition of California, and later helped to frame the first constitution of that state.²

While in North Carolina, he made a host of friends. Because of inexperience and poor business conditions, he went into debt to some of them. After success had come to him on the Pacific, his mind turned back to his old friends and his unpaid debts. Seventeen to twenty years later he made an attempt to pay up.

In 1847 he wrote to Alexander McRae of New Hanover County, North Carolina, expressing his wish to liquidate old debts and renew old friendships. Within a few months letters from Carolinians began to arrive in Monterey. In practically every case the missives mentioned the amount still due, the changes that had taken place in the State, and residents alive and dead. In the fifties Larkin was in New York and actually planned to revisit North Carolina. This plan failed, however, and never again did he see the friends of his youth.³

¹ Parker, Robert J., "A Yankee in North Carolina: Observations of Thomas Oliver Larkin, 1821-1826," *The North Carolina Historical Review*, XIV, No. 4 (October, 1937) pp. 325-342.

² Parker, Robert J., *Chapters in the Early Life of Thomas Oliver Larkin* (San Francisco, 1939).

³ Parker, Robert J., *Builder of Empire: a Biography of Thomas Oliver Larkin*. An unpublished work in the hands of the author.

Larkin's letter to McRae and some of the answers thereto are a part of the manuscript collection of the Hubert Howe Bancroft Library of the University of California, and appear below in full by permission of the library.⁴

[LARKIN TO ALEXANDER MCRAE,⁵ NEW HANOVER COUNTY,
NORTH CAROLINA]

Monterey, March 17, 1847

For some years I have lost all trace of my former friends in New Hanover. For a short time I had a few correspondents there. Now none. In 1844 I had the very great pleasure of affording Consular assistance to one of the Mallett family of North Carolina in a visit I was making to San Francisco at the North. By him I sent home many letters to reopen my old Carolina Correspondence.

In September last while with Commodore Stockton taking possession of different town[s] in California, I met a son of yours. this caused me at the time to address a letter to you to know if I could obtain your assistance in learning something about some debts I may owe there, if they were not paid by the Trustees; for of no one, or no business can I learn respecting this affair. I again write to you on this subject, as my first letter may have failed. I forward to you two or three newspapers of Monterey, the first ever published here. Your son this week sent me some Wilmington Newspapers but not a name can I trace out of my acquaintance. If you will hand the papers I send to you to one of your Editors, it will be the means of shewing all my old Friends my whereabouts. for much time before our flag was raised here I was much engaged in Government business in California. If there had been no war the three coloured flag would have flown its last in California in '48. In October your son was stoping with my family. He now says I have too much 'Big Company' General Kearny Colonel Mason and others being members of my household. I have a dance today, and hope your son will attend. He knowing Spanish can enjoy himself better than many of his brother officers.

⁴ Larkin, "Official correspondence," I, No. 175; Larkin, "Documents for the History of California," Vol. V, No. 291; VII, Nos. 143, 156, 172, 229; IX Nos. 30, 69, 239, 326, 492.

⁵ Alexander McRae was superintendent of common schools for Wilmington in 1846, a justice of the peace in New Hanover County, and a merchant in Wilmington. The McRae family was quite prominent in that section. See Sprunt, James, *Chronicles of the Cape Fear River*, pp. 100, 133, 139, 260, 293, 571; MS. Minutes, Pleas and Quarter Sessions of New Hanover Court, March term, 1846, September term, 1846 (records in the archives of the North Carolina Historical Commission, Raleigh).

[JAMES B. PIGFORD TO LARKIN, MONTEREY, CALIFORNIA]

Oak Point, [North Carolina]

October 4th, 1847

After my due respects to you, I will inform you that a few days ago I was in wilmington and there heard of you for the first time since you left this place, and I was very much gratified to hear from you, and to hear that you were doing well. Mr Alex McRae told me that he had received a letter from you something over a year ago and you requested him to ascertain what amount of debts were against you here, and that you stated that you had left means with Mr Withington to settle your debts but you were not certain whether they were paid or not. Mr McRae states that he had advertized in one of the papers for all that had a claim or claims to present them to him. he said some presented their claims and he sent you a list of them, but he had not heard from you yet. the paper that he advertised it in, I did not take and knew nothing of it until a few days ago. Mr McRae told me to write on to you myself and told me where to direct my letter. I have done so & I hope it may reach you and that it may find you well and doing well. I also hope that you may remember me when you remember the rest of your creditors. The claim that I have is the same that I purchased from Edward P Hall.⁶ You will recollect it no doubt. You confessed Judgment on the note awhile before you Left. the note was given to E P Hall March 11th 1827 the principal was fourty four dollars and three cents, and If your situation is such that you can pay it now, and will do it I will feel ever grateful to you for it. It will at once show that you are an honest man from the heart. as you have written to A McRae you can make mention of me with the rest. I hope you'll write to me also as soon as you get this letter. I should like to see a letter from you and hear of your travels and life ever since you left here. I am married and have one little daughter about 5 years old. I have been married about 8 years. If you write to me I will write back and give you a sketch of the times here since you left.

You can direct your letter to Wilmington N. C.

⁶ Edward P. Hall's name was mentioned as having real estate deeded to him in 1846. See Minutes, Court of the Pleas and Quarter Sessions of New Hanover County, March term, 1846. (Hereafter cited as Minutes.)

[THO. G. THURSTON TO LARKIN]

New Orleans, July 11, 1849

Within the last few months I have taken the liberty of giving two or three of my friends letters of introduction to You as they were about to start for the [one word illegible] El ' Dorado and to have a letter of introduction to a person who has been as long as Yourself in that country and an American also. They considered a great favor. I hope you will not consider me [one word illegible] when I request of you as a favor to furnish me with a few lines for old acquaintance sake and say if You can give me sufficient encouragement to migrate to that country, during my whole life I have followed the beaten path of business which others have made and raped the benefit before me. I have had many ups and downs in all my run = taking the latter predominantly but have always retained a respectable position in Society. You having struck into a new path aided by fortunate circumstances and your own indomitable gift of perseverance have arrived to that eminence in fortune that has made your name known throughout the civilized world. Now my dear Sir if you can encourage me to come to that country where the inducement will give me a respectable living and enable me to provide for a Young and growing family of Boys & Girls the oldest about 21 years, I should like very much to become a resident of California. not however to be dependent on you or any one else but that I may by my own exertion and capacity for business receive a greater reward than I can in this country by the same industry. If I go there it will be with scarcely any means, but I have good health and my family are all healthy and one half of them capable of obtaining a good living for themselves. Can you not point out to me something to my advantage. I have two daughters capable of teaching school in case my means should become so limited as to require it, but if advisable I would first go without my family as travelling in that direction is so enormously high. Please advise me.

I do not know that you will receive any of the letters or newspapers which I have Sent you, but newspapers I will continue to send.

[N. B.]

Mr. G. W. Mallett⁷ who formerly owned a steam mill on the point near Wilmington, N. Ca. is now a partner of mine in business. he informs me that a wild young nephew of his received some favors from you some years ago for which he is extremely thankfull.

⁷ The Mallett family was prominent in that section of the State. Peter Mallett of Fayetteville was captain of Company C, Third Regiment North Carolina Troops, 1861-1865. He was promoted to major and colonel. Later he moved to New York. Clark, Walter, *Histories of the Several Regiments and Battalions from North Carolina in the Great War 1861-1865*, I, 178, 227. C. P. Mallett was first lieutenant in the Third North Carolina Regiment, *Ibid.*, IV, 722; John W. Mallett of Cumberland County was captain in the Eighteenth Battalion. *Ibid.*, IV, 379, 381. Edward Mallett was a major, colonel, and lieutenant colonel of the Sixty-third Regiment and was killed at Bentonville, N. C., March 19, 1865. *Ibid.*, IV, 483, 498; Grant, D. L., *Alumni History of the University of North Carolina*, pp. 408, 409.

[JOHN LARKINS⁸ TO LARKIN]

Long Creek [New Hanover County, North Carolina]

Oct 21, 1849

My old and Respected Friend I Received your letter of 16th June and it gave me great pleasure & satisfaction to learn you were & all your family enjoying good health. You State my Last Letter contained no information of importance Which I hope you Will excuse as it was Wrote in a hurry. You asked to know about Mr D Jones⁹ & family & others of our acquaintances. Mr. Jones is now living in Missourie and settled [there] also [are] Mr. D. Alderman¹⁰ & Mr. Highsouth. Writen him. they left N. C. last spring. Since you left N. C. 3 of my Sisters and 2 Brothers have moved West. my two Brothers I. M. Larkins & Robert are Dead and Left families. My three Sisters are living in Ala & Miss. The hand of nature has wrought many changes in the elapse of sixteen years. the piny growth of our country is half Dead. as a naval store country it is fast failling notwithstanding the health is good and our little town Wilmington is fast improving. We will soon have another Rail Road to connect with the W & R. R. Road.¹¹ commencing opposite the market wharf & Running 161½ miles to Manchester¹² S. C. which will be of infinite advantage to our country. in truth the Spirit of internal improvements is very active in our State and still increasing. But enough on this subject.

My old friend and associate when I cast a Retrospect and bring Back the many jovial and Happy hours we have spent together even the night of my marriage to M. J. B. the Light of the candles and you Waiting on me fills my mind with the pleasures of bygone days. and then to Recollect but a few years after, the Host of enemies that crowded on you and dispossessed you of all you owned and Left you pennyless to Seek a Living in an unknown and unfriendly country. it still makes me look on some of them with distrust. and then to Remember the night on which I conveyed you to Wilmington perhaps never to be herd of again is a time never to be forgotten with me.

But enough of the past. I return to the present to contrast your present Situation with that of some of your Carolina enemies. it is with heart felt pleasure I am informed you are able to overcome them

⁸ John Larkins lived in the Rocky Point District and was prominent in his section of New Hanover County. He was appointed a naval stores inspector in 1846. For this position William S. Larkins and William R. Larkins signed his security bond. Minutes, March term, 1846.

⁹ David Jones was transferring property in New Hanover County in 1846. Minutes, March term, 1846.

¹⁰ David Alderman deeded real estate to David Alderman, Jr., in 1846. Minutes, September term, 1846.

¹¹ The Wilmington and Raleigh Railroad was chartered in 1833. The company was organized in 1836, and the road was completed on March 7, 1840. Brown, C. K., *A State Movement in Railroad Development*. pp. 31 ff.

¹² For a discussion of the Wilmington and Manchester Railroad, see *ibid.*, pp. 40 ff.

all and if you choose to Reward your friends. independent is to say the least, truly a great satisfaction.

But I will pass on to a few Remarks on the people and times. commercial Business is very inactive here. at this time a general scarcity of Money, Naval Stores low, turpt pr Barral \$2.10, tar \$1.50 and other articles in proportion. there is a considerable of business done at this little place. many of our old associates have Left and gone to a World of spirits to Reap the promises of God's unsearchable Riches.

You stated in your epistle of the 16 of June you would leave that country in January next. I have only to say may God [one word illegible] you and yours Safely Back to the land of your nativity and after Reaching your destination a hearty welcome to my humble house. I will close accept the sincere Respts of myself and family to you and yours.

P. S. Dont fail to come.

[DEMPSEY HARRELL¹³ TO LARKIN]

South Washington [North Carolina]

My old and Respected friend,

Jan 20th/50

And Christmas Hollydays for 1850 are past, we have had a great many Weddings and balls in this time. I have not attended but one. that was an infare [affair] at Solomon Turners. there was some three hundred people but no dancing. they sung and played. I and family are invited tonight to a wedding at B. N. Nuokirks—but cant attend in conciquence of a freshit in all the creeks. they are swimming—than they will have dancing a plenty but I always begin to think but very little of parts or balls & I'll say no more about them. I have never received but one letter from you since you left N. C.—that was dated Dec. 30th/45. After you left Rockfish I continued with E. Witherington until he got tired of the place. he then sold out to me. I remained there two years. the place was sold and I had to leave. I then remained idle or out of business for about one year. then I went on to New York purchased about \$1000 worth of goods, and opened at the [one word illegible, probably Teachy] place. remained thare 2 years and got cut out of it. I then bought out Wm. Usher in So. Wash.¹⁴ where I am now writing. I had like to forget to tell you that while at the

¹³ Dempsey Harrell was superintendent of common schools for the South Washington District, 1846; tax lister for the same district, 1846; a justice of the peace, 1846, and a member of the patrol for the same district, 1847. Minutes 1846-1847.

¹⁴ South Washington was established in 1791 and was 142 miles southeast of Raleigh. In 1822 South Washington and Wilmington were the only post offices in New Hanover County. Geo. H. McMillian was postmaster in 1830. *Table of the post offices in the United States, arranged by States and Counties as they were October 1, 1830* (Washington, D. C., 1831), p. 146; *Laws of North Carolina, 1791*, Chap. 70; Melver, Colin, *The North Carolina Register and United States Calendar for the Year of Our Lord, 1823*, p. 65.

Teachey place that I took it in the head and got married so I have now got a wife and nine living children. Old N. C. fashion but respectable. I was glad to hear from you when I did. (it reminded me of old times) and should have answered it immediately on the reception but it was about twelve months after you wrote it before I recd. your letter. in that time the war had broken out fully with Mexico, and there was but a slim chance of conveying a letter to your place.

Since you have left, the most of the old men have died off—viz. Col. Teachey, John Boney, Dal. Bong, Chic Boney, Wm. Boney, Jim Southern with many others. the greatest stew amongst us at this time is state improvements such as Rail Roads, Plank Roads¹⁵ & clearing out rivers and Creeks. I am rather of the opinion that our public men will tax the state till she will not be worth the taxes. you know our means, you are apprized we have a Rail Road from Wilmington to Weldon in full operation. also one from Weldon to Raleigh. there is now in contract a Road from Wilmington to the So. Carolina Road. Also a Plank Road from Fayetteville to the back part of the state. One chartered from the Wilmington & Weldon road to the upper part of the State, the latter a Rail Road. You can give some idea from this how our leading men are going it with us. politicks are quite low with us since the presidential election. The Members in Congress is making considerable fuss about slavery. we don't think it will amount to much. some talk of disunion but I think not. The Wilmington and Weldon road runs within about 2 miles of So. Wash, the post office is on the road, where this letter will be mail'd. the name will be familiar to you (Sills Creek). I see by the public prints you have formed your Constitution [California] in order to be admitted as a state in the Union. we also see you have by your Constitution prohibited slavery. we think Slavery might be a benefit, particularly in mining business but you ought to know best. no doubt it will create considerable talk in our Government had you placed it either way. You wanted to know something about the old stand Rockfish—there is no mercantile business carried on at that place. everything has either gone to the Rail Road or to Wilmington. no post office between Wilmington & Kenansville but on the Road. if you should see Mr. Thos. Ash¹⁶ ask him about me, he is well acquainted. his brother Wm. S. is our representative from this district [in Congress]. if you should ever pass through N. C. please call on me. I should be happy to see you. You wished in your letter to me to know something about your debts. I have herd

¹⁵ The first plank road in North Carolina was chartered in 1849. The idea soon spread and in the 1850-51 session of the General Assembly sixteen plank road companies were chartered. See Starling, Robert B., "The Plank Road Movement in North Carolina," *The North Carolina Historical Review*, XVI, Nos. 1 and 2 (January and April, 1939), pp. 1-22, 147-174.

¹⁶ William Shepperd Ashe was the son of Samuel Ashe and Elizabeth Shepperd. He was born September 14, 1814, and died in 1867. He represented New Hanover County in the state senate in 1846, 1848 and 1859; he also represented his district in the United States Congress, 1846-1855. *North Carolina Manual, 1913*, pp. 724, 933, 934; Ashe, Samuel A., ed., *Biographical History of North Carolina*, VIII, 30.

several persons say you owed them some perhaps have their claim and others said they had lost theirs. I hold a small note of yours for 9 24/00 dolls. which was given before you left N. C. it is out at the house or I would give you the date.

Your sincere friend

[N. B.] I am about closing my business at this time and not certain whether I will assume it soon again. Should like to hear from you please write me soon.

D. H.

[D. McINTIRE¹⁷ TO LARKIN]

Rocky Point, New Hanover [County], N. C. Dec. 19/50

My old friend

Thomas O. Larkin

Just on the eve of your departure for California I received a long letter from you. Yesterday another the 2nd letter was handed me by a friend dated 30th July last it having been directed to Sills Creek P. O. where I seldom call for letters not living near that place. Something like twenty years is a long time to pass away between two old friends without corresponding. it certainly is not my fault for I certainly would have written often could I have known where to direct a letter. I had the pleasure of hearing from you direct by our Representative Mr. Ashe. I see from your letter the time has passed which you appointed for Visiting old N. C. What has happened to prevent you. It is useless for me to tell you I would be glad to see you, you must know that from our former intimacy.

I think you left N. C. in 1830 or 31 Very soon after or about that time, I became tired of Merchandizing and bought the H. James¹⁸ place. Went to farming. Soon tired of a bachelor's life and in the Spring of 1832 was married. We have had 8 children, the first & last are dead. I now send all to school Say four Daughters & two Sons. In 1840 I bought the place I now live on from S. Lane the former residence of his Father, having sold the other to Tho. Lee for double the amt I paid for it. Since I commenced farming have not made money so fast as trading. But have increased my property some & lived a tolerable easy farmer's life. have had several hard spells sickness but thank God have recovered. My Wife has had but little sickness but often complaining. Our Children all look healthy and learn very well. I will stop the history of my family.

¹⁷ David McIntire was elected superintendent of common schools for the Rocky Point District in September, 1846. He also represented New Hanover County in the lower house of the General Assembly, 1842 and 1844. Minutes, September term, 1846; *North Carolina Manual, 1913*, p. 723.

¹⁸ Hinton James was a justice of the peace in 1846. Minutes, March, 1846.

Friend Larkin what shall I say to you next. Oh, I will give you a history of the Jones family your old friends. Susan Jane I think lives on Blk [Black?] River. I think her husband has been for some time rather intemperate & managed badly but have just understood he has reformed, probably joined the sons. Scudder & Wife have both died some years back. Mrs. Hatcher I think is dead. Ann married one of the Croons, she has been dead some years back. One or two years ago David & family moved to Missouri. he married a Miss Keith over the Creek. David was a smart industrious farmer & good Citizen. Your old friend Withington has been dead many years. he was one of the inspectors of naval stores, died having no property I presume. Charles Huring still lives at the old place and in possession of a large property. I would think was rich though he may be in debt. I know but little about him now a days. For many years he has been quite intemperate but recently I understand has joined the Sons of temperance. Consequently has become a new man. he has been married several years to a Miss Preders of Sampson County. A great many your old acquaintances have died since you left. You would find now almost a new sett of inhabitants with here and there an old acquaintance. A great many have moved away. Your old mill has gone down long since, was worked a while by Garrason Moore & Miller but soon quit her I believe, without much mischief. You ask if Withington according to deed of trust paid any of your debts. I think I could safely say not the first Copper. I heard no more about it after you were gone. All I heard say anything about it whom you owed was about the same thing I told you just before leaving. You can go, if you get able you can pay us, if not let it be lost. Sometimes ago I think some few years Genl. M Rae showed me a letter from you saying you would pay any debts still against you. it was published and I presume the most of the claims were presented and sent to you but never any answer was received. the whole amt. with Interest I think would not amout to much. I think it very probable the amt I hold against you is the largest, however, I don't know. Mr. R. G. Sharpless has just moved away to Mo. left me his agent. Among the set of his papers was a note on you which he said I could keep, if you ever returned he knew you would pay. As you say News Papers are not always right but I have understood from various sources that you were independent.

Mr Tate¹⁹ & Wife are both living, the health of the latter very delicate. Mr. Tate preached in this neighborhood one or two weeks back. both his Sons Tho.²⁰ & Robt.²¹ are grown have finished their educa-

¹⁹ Robert Tate was a Presbyterian minister. As a member of the Orange Presbytery he attended the twelfth session of the North Carolina Synod held at Hopwell Church, October 31, 1799. Foote, William Henry, *Sketches of North Carolina*, pp. 300, 501.

²⁰ Thomas H. Tate, a planter of New Hanover County, was born in Rocky Point in 1824 and died in 1879. He was a student at the University of North Carolina, 1842-1845. Grant, *Alumni History*, p. 608.

²¹ Robert Hunter Tate, a physician, was born in 1826 and died in 1864. He graduated at the University of North Carolina in 1847. He was a member of the General Assembly in 1856. *Ibid.*, p. 608; *North Carolina Manual*, 1913, p. 724.

tion at Chapel Hill & both married the eldest a farmer the other a Doctor. Thomas wife was the daughter of the late Wm. B. Colvin. Robt to a daughter of James Murphy on So. River. & Thomas still lives at the same old place and driving on about as usual. Margaret Tate you recollect first married Duncan McIntire. She was soon a widow and after a few years married a Mr. Pittman up the Country. Now living near Sills Creek. I remember the ball at Duplin C. & I was there. Often I have looked back on my youthful days & some of them days of pleasantry. how often have I thought of the fun at the old mill & other places. Sarah has two of your books now, which reminds us of you occasionally. I think the four pages nearly complete your will then [one word illegible] me. Write me again. any enquiry you wish to make I will attend to it. should like to have my wife see your Lady. will you bring her with you.

Two or three days back I cut my rist [wrist] very bad. it plagues me about writing and a farmer is generally too much engaged to write often, having been out of practice you must excuse any mistakes. I forgot to tell you I have a Brother in California. You recollect the one that stayed with me at Long Creek, Charles. he has been there nearly two years. I was in hopes he would see you. Brother Andrew lives in Miss. Murdock in Louis. You will not blame me after securing this letter I have answered the first mail. when you write again direct [your letter to?] Cypress Grove P. O. New Hanover, N. C. You must give me a full history of your life at least the outlines. Sarah has just come in time enough before I closed the letter to send her respects and would be glad to see you and Lady.

Your old affectionate friend,

[DEMPSEY HARRELL TO LARKIN]

South Washington, [North Carolina]

Feb. 10, 1854

Dear Friend,

Thomas O. Larkin Esq.,

Sir thinking, the letter I wrote you a few weeks after my return from New York where I saw you last and propaby [probably] the last in this world that we will see each other, (still I should like to see you again and your coutry [country] too.) I then wrote you about your Brother. I found out an old Gentleman by the name of John Soton who gave me the yard. I looked as you said without finding any thing. I returned and he said he assisted in Burying your Brother. he knew you very well at that time and that everything was yet right.

that he can show you the spot. had seen it five days before. he says it will propable [probably] cost you about \$300 to put it in good repair. if he should die his son that works in his shop with him nows [knows] the spot. at any time will point it out when requested. he offered to go back with me but it was too near the time for the cars to leave and I wished to come out. You can buy everything that is necessary in Wilmington. they have two marble yards in the place and Ingravers [Engravers] and workmen plenty. the town is nearly four times as large as it was when you left N. C. two Rail Roads lead to it and plank Road—we have a R. Road to run through the center of the States to the Mountains—when finished we will have plenty of Roads I think in this State. still another is talked of from Raleigh to Augusta Ga. it is thought that General G[o]vernment will start a Road about the Mississippi valey [Mississippi Valley] through the territories to the Roky [Rocky] Mountains. the country is improving even the old North State. You have money enough come and se [see] us. My family is all in tolerable good health. There has been some 30 deaths up in Duplin by Small pox—but what I care how is wearing out. we have been somewhat uneasy but the most is now vaccinated. property of every description is extremely high. My best respects to yourself and family.

D. Harrell

N. B. I wish to hear from you please write me.

D. H.

[DAVID McINTIRE TO LARKIN]

Wilmington, N. C., 1st Apl 1854

My Dear Friend

Your two letters dated 15th Feb last was received two or three weeks back with a draft enclosed for \$250. I have just exchanged it for the Cash at our Bank. I am at a loss to know how you wish it distributed as you sent two memorandums differing in Amt. do you maintain for me to retain the full Amt you owe me & divide the ballance, or would it not be better to say how much to each person. my amt in dividing the mare returned through you to old Cameron I think about \$164 including interest. You can pay whatever you think proper. I hold a note of Robert L. Sharpless against you which is not acknowledged. it is certainly genuine as it is your own hand write throughout. in fact all the claims I know of against you I believe genuine & have never been paid. I think \$100 would cover Sharpless note & int. he is a poor man & you know a good man. My health has been good since I last wrote also my wife & children. my

two oldest, Son & Daughter are at Collige. another Daughter ready to start. in all we have Six Children 2 Sons & 4 Daughters. my youngest 2 years old. I think I mentioned in my last that we were burnt out Dwelling & Meat house. We have now very lively times. all produce brings fair prices. Am still farming making Corn potatoes ground peas & C raising hogs. Mr. Tate & Sady were well when I last heard from them. The old Gentleman is now near 80 years old. Still preaches. his two Sons, Tho & Robt. are very fine men. I like them very much, as well as my own brothers. I was in hopes you would have visited us ere this. Will you not return to the old States. if you do, would be pleased you could give us a call & talk over old things. Many changes have taken place in twenty years. Old things sour away and all quiet now. I must close would wish you more if I had time. I came down this morning on the cars & will return this evening.

Let me hear from you on receipt of this as soon as you can conveniently.

Your old friend,

D. McINTIRE.

[WILLIAM CAMERON TO LARKIN]

New Orleans, April 18, 1855

Dear Friend,

Some two or three years ago I received a letter from you while you were in New York in answer to one I had written you—on reception of yours I again wrote you, but received no answer, and think it probable that it did not come to hand—In your letter (which I have misplaced) you gave me in part a History of your life [one word illegible] time we corresponded with each other about the year 1831—and I was truly gratified to learn of your great success in business and your happiness on a domestic point of view—I must, my dear friend return my warm acknowledgments and thank you for the kind wishes and friendship, and duly appreciate your kind recommendation to Mr. King which you enclosed me—

I recollect you mentioned that about the time of your leaving Carolina you borrowed of me some \$50 which you wanted [to] remit—I have no recollection of this matter at all. I did not know you owed me a dollar, but my dear friend I have never in my life felt the pangs of poverty more acutely than I do at present—and this little sum would be some relief to me if I had it.

I have suffered greatly latterly with the Rheumatism, which is the only disease I am subject to—I have been unemployed ever since No-

vember last, and this place is so dull that it is impossible to procure a situation—to tell the truth I am so poor that I cannot leave this place to seek employment elsewhere. What would my old friend T. O. (or as old Mrs. Jones used to say Oliver) lose by making to me a Loan of a few thousands in order to establish me in a good business, and ensure me of a home in my old age? I am sure he nor his family would ever suffer by it—even if he never received it back, but I feel confident I should be able to return it with Interest—for my health (except the complaint above alluded to) is always good and I bid fair to live to a very old age not being subject to epidemics of any kind—I am at present in good health.

Will my old friend excuse this selfish letter? I know he will for he himself knows from sad experience the sufferings of poverty—and the consequent coldness and indifference exhibited by Those who he once called *friends*.

‘and what is friendship but a name’

Not so, I trust are the feelings between you and me. theres something more than the name I know.

Do answer me as soon as possible and inform me of your future prospects, of your health and that of your family and believe me for [one word illegible] or for woe.

Poor Thurston died some 2 years since leaving a large family and very poor.

Your friend

WILLIAM CAMERON

Address me. Care
W. A. Andrew Sieran
New Orleans.

[SUSAN JANE STRINGFIELD TO LARKIN]

Moore's Creek, N. C., Sept. 2, 1855

Friend T. O. Larkin

I am almost discouraged writing to you. I have written so many letters and you never received them only one while in N York. We recd yours in answer to that and wrote you another. I answered it just as quick as I received it. we have not hurd [heard] from you since only through D. McIntire. he says he heres from you often. Peyton saw him at long Creek 23 June. he told P. he wished me to go to see him. I did so the fatigue was most too much for me I'm quite weakly. the warm [weather] the distance 25 miles it was most too much for me. I thought I would give almost anything to see your

letters you sent him but did not have the satisfaction of seeing them. David said they were misplaced it would be a great deal of trouble to find them. he said he could tell me what you wrote. he said you send a check on Wilmington Bank for two hundred and fifty Dollars for him to dispose of as he saw proper. So he divided it as well as he could. he payed some debts and give me fifty dollars but he had loaned it out not knowing when I would come. he give me thirty dollars of his own and pay the 20 dollars some time when he could see P. or send it by letter to me. Mc appeared to be very glad to see me. his family was free to chat with me. Said they wished I could stay with them a month. they loved my company.

I cannot discribe my feelings to you. neather could I tell you how I feel on this occation. there is no one on earth that cares for my wants and necessities but you and why should you other friends who say they are friends never has showd us the first bit of kindness even in our worst distress. Father never helps us now. we have 9 children to provide for and educate if we can. we have five sons that can do pretty good work in the field. We will make enough corn this year if nothing happens for the first time in our lives. we always had to buy provisions, the greater part at any rate. produce low all this summer, provisions high. I should like to see you once more. I could tell you more in one day than I can write in a week. All my relations are dead and you I feel like one alone. I do not think of past times. I would have the blues sure enough, if I was to. my little ones making a fuss all around me, I can't write so you can understand it. I am very nervous has been for years. my children is smart and well favoured. they are highly respected. they keep the best of company. I write this to you being a friend of mine. we can pass in any crowd. Since Peyton quit drinking we do a great deal better in many instances. he tries to get along too fast I think. his two full of schemes. we are on debt pretty smartly now that makes me some what deprysed but hes full of schemes smart and active in business that is in law. Im a member of the Baptist church. I joined 14 years age. my daughter Anna Evaline 4 years, one of my sons 2 years. he joined when he was but 12 years old. let me hear from you if you get this soon. accept of this in consideration of it coming from an old friend who wishes you and yours every blessing and every happiness can be bestowed on you here and hereafter. I will write more lengthly the next if I get an answer.

SUSAN JANE STRINGFIELD.

[ROBERT B. COLVIN TO LARKIN]

Hickory Grove Lowndes Co. Ala.

July 12/56

My Dear Sir

I take the liberty of dropping you a few lines concerning a small note I had against you, but it is lost or mislaid the amt. was ten Dollars date the year you left the long creek mills. I do not recollect the year, but I have understood from my old friend David McIntire that you [are] able & desirous to pay those old papers, & dear sir I would not trouble you about the little amt. but have been unfortunate. I have a large family. I am truly glad to [hear] of your success in California. if you was [in] Montgomery Ala. I would go to see you if you would not come to see me. I am 25 miles from the City. if I was certain this would reach you I would write more & about old times, who I married &c. all old acquaintances of yours. if I hear from you I will be more communicative.

Respectfully your obedient servant

ROBT. B. COLVIN.

to T. O. Larkin

N. B. you are one of those old acquaintances whom I can never forget. you recollect the letters you put on my arm at Mrs. Walkers,

R. B. C.

Direct to Hickory Grove Lowndes Co. Ala.

THE HORSE SOCIETY

By DOUGLAS LETELL RIGHTS

In the library of the Wachovia Historical Society in Winston-Salem is an old tin box, made by Salem tinnerns, which contains the records of the Society for Protection of Property in and about Salem. Two small account books, printed copies of the constitution, rules and by-laws, a sheaf of receipts and copies of annual statements, and a few bills of Confederate currency tell the story of the Horse Society, as this protective association was generally known.

In one of the books is inscribed the constitution:

STATE OF NORTH CAROLINA, STOKES COUNTY
November 10th 1798

We the Officers, civil & military, & others hereunto subscribed, Do solemnly pledge our Honours, each unto the other in the following Articles: That is to say:

1.) It is our mutual Agreement, That when any one of the Subscribers, shall have any Horse, Mare or Gelding, or any other valuable Property, feloniously taken out of his or her Possession, that all Expences in pursuing after the Thief, taking him to Prison, & carrying on the Prosecution, shall & is hereby declared to be at the comon & joint Expence of Us the Subscribers, and we will further aid with our personal Service when called on, and that we will aid & assist any Person or Persons from any other County in this District, that shall be bound in such Articles as this present.

2.) We declare, that we shall & will make Use of every justifiable Means in our Power, to bring to Justice all such, as shall transgress as aforesaid, their Harbourers, Aiders & Abettors, and carry on the Prosecution agreeable to the Laws of this State. And we do further declare, that no Thief or Felon, who shall be overtaken with any Horse, Mare or Gelding or any other Property belonging to any of Us, shall escape or be suffered to escape with the Consent or Conivance of any of Us, but be taken hold of & brought before a Justice of the Peace in this County, to be dealt with according to Law, unless he, she or they, do imediately deliver himself or themselves to the civil Authority thus to be dealt with as aforesaid. And we do hereby offer a Reward of Ten Dollars of the United States to any Person, who shall discover and make evidence to convict any Horsethief, Housebreaker, or other Felon or Felons, their Harbourers, Aiders & Abettors. And to shew our earnest Desire & Intention in this Matter, each of Us who sub-

scribes hereunto, has paid down Half a Dollar of the United States to Charles Frederick Bagge, whom we hereby appoint our Treasurer to defray all Expences accruing by the fullfillment of our present mutual Engagement, and which said Treasurer shall render an Account to Us, or any Person we shall depute, of his Receipts & Disbursements every December Court of this County next ensuing the Time of our present Subscription. And we further promise & declare, that each of us will continue to pay Half a Dollar at any Time as often as the Treasurer shall call on any of Us in writing, when the Money he had in Hand is expended, & he wants a fresh Supply for the purposes we have subscribed hereunto.

3.) We further declare, that from hence forward, We the civil & other Officers hereunto subscribed, shall & will to the utmost of our skill & power, uphold the honour & preserve the Dignity of our several Comissions, by detecting all Abuses of the civil and religious Rights of ourselves & fellow Citizens, by putting the Laws in force (as far as they are cognizable by Us) against them, and that we will not keep any kind of respectfull Company or Correspondence with any Person known to be of such an infamous Character, and shall at all Times & in all Places aid and assist each other from the Insults and Abuses of every such unworthy Member of Society, where our Lives & Property are most imediately in Danger by so doing. And if any civil or military Officer, or any other hereunto subscribed, shall or will knowingly offend or break through any of these Articles, he, she or they so offending or breaking through as aforesaid, shall be held in Abhorrence & detested by having his or her Name erased from these Articles.

4.) And we declare, we shall suffer no Person who is of evil Name, Fame or Reputation (if the same comes to our Knowledge) to set his or her Name hereunto, without giving Notice of the same. And further we agree, that these & every Article herein contained shall be & remain binding on each & every of Us, untill a Majority of the Subscribers shall dissolve the same. And we do agree to have a Meeting of all the Subscribers on the first Fryday in January next ensuing at the house of Jacob Bloom Esqre in Salem, to consult about further Measures necessary to be taken, & to continue such Meetings. And in each & every such Meeting there shall be chosen a Chairman President, who shall continue during the time of Business and shall cause a Record of the Proceedings to be kept by a Clerk appointed for that Purpose.

In witness whereof we have each of us subscribed our Name hereunto the Day & Date first above written.

A true Copy from the Original text.

JOHN RIGHTS
Clerk.

This combination insurance association, vigilantes committee, and fraternal order began auspiciously on November 10, 1798,

with one hundred fifty-six charter members credited with payment of four shillings each, the "Half a Dollar of the United States." Many names still familiar in the community are to be found, such as:

Joseph Korner (Kerner), Christopher Reich, Rudolph Christ (Crist), Henry Ripple, Horatio Hamilton, Jacob Hein (Hine), Philip, Martin and Christian Hoens (Hanes), Daniel Stockton, William Barrow, Ed. and Paul and William Starbuck, Henry Shore, Jr., Samuel Kramsch (later headmaster of Salem Female Academy), Adam Spach, Jr., Peter Foltz, John Hartman, and John Leinbach.

Expenses incident to the organization of the society in November, 1798, were as follows:

1 blank Book 1 shilling 6 pence [probably the record book preserved]
to John Rights for 6 copies of inscription 12 shillings
to Jacob Bloom [Blum] for Do 4 shillings
a blank book for use of the association 8 shillings 6 pence.

The Horse Society was now ready for business, but little happened in 1799, although handcuffs, a chain, etc., were purchased for 14 shillings. The only other item of expense was the clerk's salary of 1 pound.

The year 1800 was even duller; there were no expenditures except for the pay of the clerk, 14 shillings.

In the following year, however, the society began to function. On February 28, 1801, there was "paid for pursuing a Horse-thief . . . to Isaac Dawlton [Dalton] Esq. 1 Day, 8 shillings—Mick. Rominger 2 Days, 16 shillings—George Laugenaar 2 Days, 16 shillings." On May 30 a certain Robinson was paid 2 shillings for "Cryers fees."

In 1803 the entries began with change from pounds, shillings, and pence to dollars and cents.

The society must have met with popular appeal for in 1804 Joseph Marckland made it a present of one dollar, although he was not a member. Of the \$80 on hand, \$70 was loaned to Conrad Kreuser, manager of the Salem store, on a bond at five per cent. Loans to members of the community followed on notes at six per cent.

Another horse was missing in 1805 and Michael Rominger

was paid \$6.50 for pursuing. Two years later Philip Jones received \$10.37½, evidently for like service.

Nathaniel Shober succeeded John Rights as clerk in 1808.

There was a long period of peace and security broken only in 1812, when, "by order of Archiball Campbell and William Walker," Owen Evans was paid \$5.

The most intensive horse and man hunt yet recorded came in 1825, when Joshua Boner was paid \$33.75 for pursuing his horse and "James Stafford persuing a Horse & Negro. Thief and Property deliv. and thief committed to Prison. 6 persuers send by Stafford in all 26 days . . . \$39 . . . 4 send from here in all . . . \$12 . . . for heiring Gordon and Undank . . . \$8.39 . . . Matthew Reiths [Rights] tavern charges for the thief and gards . . . \$2.50." The tavern keeper also provided a rope for \$.65.

The story of this case was often retold in later years. The thief induced Joshua Boner's Negro slave to help him get away with the horses and to accompany him, with the promise of freedom when beyond the limits of the State. They were overtaken in Virginia and brought back to Salem. The thief was sent to jail in Germanton, the county seat, but was subsequently delivered to Virginia authorities on a requisition from the governor of that State. He was taken to Richmond and died in imprisonment. Boner lived west of town at what was known as the Atwood place.

In spite of the heavy expenditure involved in this long chase, the society showed a balance of \$171.37. But before the year was out, Wilson's horses were "persued" by Adam Butner, John Chitty, Thomas Christman, Siewers, Jacob Lanius, Sowel Frazier, Wilson, and another "hand" to the tune of \$76.25. One dollar levies from members kept the treasury in good condition.

By order of Conrad Kreuser, President of the General Meeting, and Emanuel Shober, Secretary, at Salem, on December 10, 1829, amendments to the primary articles and additional rules and regulations were formulated and appended to the original constitution. Some of these additions were as follows:

The Society shall consist of two distinct parts, a General Meeting and a Committee. Every member of the Society shall be a member of the General Meeting; the Committee shall be taken from the General

Meeting, and consist of eighteen members, six of whom shall go out every year, in rotation, and the six going out, shall not be eligible again for one year. . . . The General Meeting and the Committee shall hold their sittings at the Tavern in Salem, or any other convenient place in said town, and stated meetings shall be held every Saturday before Stokes County Court. . . .

Inasmuch as it is frequently found inconvenient for members of the Committee who live at a distance to attend, on account of bad weather, or other cause, at least three members of the Committee shall reside in Salem. . . .

None but respectable persons shall be admitted members of the Society, and whenever a person wishes to join, he is to lay his name before the Committee, who, upon enquiry, shall decide whether he is worthy. . . .

Whenever the conduct of a member becomes such as to render him unworthy, the Committee, on complaint being made, shall examine his case by testimony, and give the object of such investigation due notice, that he may appear and defend himself. . . .

No person shall be admitted a member of the Society who does not live within twenty-five miles of Salem; and when a member moves beyond that distance, and stays away two years, he shall lose his right of membership.

When a member dies and leaves a widow, the benefit of the Society shall be extended to her as long as she continues a widow and conforms to the rules of the Society. . . .

To protect the property of a Company, every member of the Firm must be a member of the Society, otherwise the property of such firm does not fall within its protection.

The protection of the Society shall extend to every species of property a member possesses, within the limits of twenty-five miles around Salem.

When property is stolen, or when there is reasonable ground to suppose that it is stolen, the sufferer shall try to get on the track with the assistance of his neighbors, and make immediate pursuit, either by one of the appointed pursuers, by himself, or by his neighbors. If no certain track can be found, then pursuit shall be made on the different leading roads in the neighborhood; provided, that no more than one pursuer shall go on each road; and if after going seventy-five miles, no track shall be discovered, he shall return; but the pursuer, getting on the track, shall go on, and if necessary, shall hire help on the road.

No false alarm, however, shall be raised, and run the Society to unnecessary expenses; therefore, a reasonable ground must exist, so as to create a presumption that the property is actually stolen; a fact or circumstance, which shall be the duty of the Committee to enquire into on application for pay: it will, therefore, be better in every case, first to obtain the advice of the Committee, before pursuit is made. . . .

When property is stolen from a member, and he has not money to pursue, or those going in pursuit have none, the Treasurer, on application, with the assent of two members of the Committee, may make reasonable advances; taking a due-bill for the same, until the proper accounts shall be rendered and settled.

When differences arise between members of the Society, both parties willing, it may be settled by a committee of five persons, belonging to the Society, each party choosing two, and the four to choose an umpire, which committee in capacity as Referees, shall hear the parties by proper proof, and determine between them; either party refusing to comply with their finding, shall be expelled from the Society.

The Committee shall from time to time appoint stated immediate pursuers, in such numbers as they may think expedient, not less than eighteen, dispersed as much as possible throughout the district, whose duty it shall be, when called on by a sufferer, to follow and pursue the thief, properly armed and equipped, agreeable to the rules laid down, and as herein before stated; and inasmuch as the main strength is in the pursuers, and much depends on a judicious pursuit, not only with an eye to economy, but in the success of the undertaking, it is enjoined on the Committee to select judicious men for that purpose, and as much as possible, such persons who own horses, and who can go properly equipped; and in order to keep up a proper spirit, and to enable the Committee to judge whether their officers be in proper situation to fulfil the object of their appointment, it shall be their duty to appear before the Committee once in twelve months.

The pay to be allowed to pursuers, for twenty-four hours, including the necessary time for rest and refreshment, shall not be lower than one dollar, and not to exceed two dollars fifty cents, including expenses. . . .

The Committee shall procure and keep on hand, at least two pair of hand cuffs, chains, locks, and two or three ropes, to be kept by the Treasurer, and by him furnished to pursuers, who shall be accountable for the same.

If any member has any property stolen by his own slave, he does not fall within the protection of the Society.

The Rules and Regulations of the Society for Protection of Property, &c., having been revised by order of the Committee, and a revision, of which the above is a copy, finally adopted by the Society at their stated meeting in December, A. D. 1829, when it was ordered that 350 copies be printed, and a copy furnished to each member.

The widow of Jacob Bloom became a beneficiary in 1831. Rothhas [Rothaas] and John Vogler, Jr., were paid \$3.90 for pursuing a free Negro who stole linen from the widow. Later Solomon Mickey, Henry Winkler, and George Hege were paid

\$1.00 each for their assistance in this case. Hege returned his dollar as a donation to the society.

The next case was that of an incendiary. In 1835, Sowel Frazier, E. Perry, and Timothy Hauser were paid \$2.00 each for pursuing a man who set fire to Thomas Wilson's barn.

Pursuers for Atwood were paid \$3.00 in 1838.

By order of the Committee, John Butner was allowed \$20 on November 14, 1844, "for following a villain." Butner returned the sum on December 7, but was repaid \$8.00 in March, 1845, according to the receipt "for expenses following a rogue stealing goods out John Butner's store." John Stulz received \$5.00 for his services in chasing the rogue.

Atwood was evidently a loser again in 1846, as Jas. Brendel was paid \$1.00 "in Atwood's case." The next year Atwood was pursuer "in Zevely's [A. T. Zevely] case," receiving \$3.00, and Zevely received a like sum.

The case of Moses Evans's mare, in 1849, was more baffling. Levine Hine pursued for 7 days, Jas. Crews for 4 days, Henry Holder and "two hands" for 5 days, expense amounting to \$37.87½, and in addition, time undesignated, Iverson Crews was paid \$21.75, and Atwood \$7.82½, by F. C. Meinung, treasurer.

After this there was quiet for a season until 1854, when M. Stewart was paid \$4.65 for pursuing his horse. In this year the society was incorporated, and a fee of \$2.00 was paid to J. Stafford, county official. The constitution and by-laws were printed the following year by L. V. Blum, book and job printer, copies of which are preserved. The cost of printing was \$12.00.

Daniel Reich was paid \$7.00 in 1855, presumably for pursuing.

In March, 1858, Samuel Alspaugh was paid \$6.50 for a three days' chase "in pursuing Edward Sand, a counterfeiter," and adding to the variety, in 1860, L. Belo was paid \$5.00 for a dog.

At the outbreak of the War between the States the Society was in a flourishing condition. Its operations were generally successful in protection of property, it was well supported, and its financial standing was excellent. The report of the treasurer, dated November 19, 1861, listed as capital stock:

Certificate date Dec. 21, 1860	\$578.00
interest due—to Dec. 21	28.90
Certificate date July 23, 1860	118.54
interest due—to Dec. 21	2.47
Cash on hand	2.57
	<hr/>
	\$730.48

No Liabilities.

Lewis Belo, Treas.

In 1863, the two certificates in the Salem Savings Institute, I. G. Lash, proprietor, amounted to \$718.54, and the year closed with a balance of \$14.30 cash on hand. But financial reverses were imminent. Confederate, state, and county taxes amounted to \$13.28 for the year, and the year following the Confederate tax alone was \$44.40. Accounts for the year 1865 are omitted entirely. In 1866, J. G. Sides, who became treasurer and continued in office until 1874, reported \$4.00 cash, plus the certificates in the bank. Of the few new members added in this first year after the war, one was John Wimmer, a Confederate veteran who had lost an arm and a leg in battle. For many years he drove the mail wagon in Salem from railroad station to post office, handling his horses skilfully in spite of his disability.

The savings certificates were repaid in annual installments of ten per cent of the original amount of the investment. Three years the payments were omitted, and the last notation is in 1874 for the final payment. Thus the loss to the society was a little more than two hundred dollars.

In the tin box are nineteen bills of Confederate currency, amounting to \$23.05, some bearing the signature of C. L. Rights, a grandson of the first clerk, John Rights. These were evidently left in the hands of the treasurer at the close of the war.

The only case during war years was "J. M. Stafford's claim" incurring expenses of \$15.00, paid in 1863.

In May, 1867, thieves were busy again, and a total of \$119.75 was paid "for pursuing thief that stole C. L. Banner's mules." Pursuers in this case were J. W. Wright, Demcy Bailey, G. W. Chaffin, and Augustus Fogle. One hundred twelve members paid the \$.50 levy. The list of names is given, showing many returned Confederate veterans.

Three years later \$150.76 was paid for pursuing Jacob Yokeley's horses. Jacob, Samuel, John, and Albert Yokeley, R. Y. Kirkman and Rich Jones were pursuers. First search led to Statesville with no results, and the next to Lincoln County with no better luck. From the expense accounts it seems that the horses were located in South Carolina. Jacob Yokeley went to bring them back, going by way of Lexington and Charlotte to Chester, S. C., by private conveyance to Union Court House, and there "took cars" to Spartanburg. He paid a certain Gentry \$12.00 for "getting horses," and \$30.00 for keeping them nineteen days in the livery stable. The journey back with the horses required four days. The Yokeleys were among the last of the livery stable and horse trading profession in the community, and some of their stables are still standing.

The year 1874 was ill-starred for the Horse Society. In May the pursuers were on the trail of A. E. Conrad's horse, incurring \$58.30 expense, part of this going to R. A. Wommack, liveryman, for horses and feed. The pursuers were John Walton, R. C. Charles, William Banner, S. D. Stimpson, and J. Coxe. Close upon the heels of this case came the final act in the drama, the pursuit of L. P. Matthews's horses. J. E. Holder, M. E. Teague, Albert Peoples, W. T. Tucker, and Joseph Stockton spent more than a week on the trail, but returned without recovery. Teague and Holder pursued a second time. Expenditures mounted to \$161.80. The treasury was drained of its resources, including the last installment of savings for bank certificates surrendered, leaving a deficit of \$.15 due the treasurer, J. G. Sides.

There was only a faint flutter of life during the next and final year, when Augustus Fogle, successor to Sides as treasurer, paid in August state and county taxes amounting to \$.141½. The Horse Society had come to the end of the trail.

BOOK REVIEWS

THE SECESSION MOVEMENT IN NORTH CAROLINA. By Joseph Carlyle Sitterson. The James Sprunt Studies in History and Political Science, Vol. XXIII, No. 2. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press. 1939. Pp. x, 285. \$3.00. Paper binding, \$1.25.)

When the Confederacy collapsed and the so-called Reconstruction program was inaugurated, the South was forced to forget the various internal political differences that had contributed to its defeat and to unite all its weakened forces against a foe more sinister than that of war. So well did the South succeed with this emergency unification that few except Southerners of the war generation knew that the South had not always been solid.

Among studies made recently which reveal the sharp diversity of political opinion prevailing in the South prior to the Civil War are those devoted to the secession movement. As early as 1909 Douglas S. Freeman wrote his doctoral dissertation on secession in Virginia, four years later Miss Cleo Hearon's *Mississippi and the Compromise of 1850* appeared, and it was followed in 1916 by Melvin J. White, *The Secession Movement in the United States, 1847-1852*. Two studies on the same State were completed two years later: Philip M. Hamer, *The Secession Movement in South Carolina, 1847-1852*, and C. S. Boucher, "The Secession Movement in South Carolina, 1848 to 1852," *Washington University Humanistic Studies*, Vol. V, Pt. 2, No. 2. Among studies devoted to the movement in individual States that have since appeared are R. H. Shryock, *Georgia and the Union in 1850* (1926); D. L. Dumond, *The Secession Movement, 1860-1861* (1931); C. P. Denman, *The Secession Movement in Alabama* (1933); Dorothy Dodd, "The Secession Movement in Florida, 1850-1861" in the *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XII, 3-24, 45-66 (1933); H. T. Shanks, *The Secession Movement in Virginia, 1847-1861* (1934); P. L. Rainwater, *Mississippi, Storm Center of Secession, 1856-1861* (1938); and W. M. Caskey, *Secession and Restoration of Louisiana* (1938). Of the several other state studies in preparation, the last to appear is Joseph Carlyle Sitterson, *The Secession Movement in North Carolina* (1939), as one of *The James Sprunt Historical Studies in History and Political Science*.

This study is of value to the student of secession in general as well as to those especially interested in the movement in North Carolina. It traces, as the author points out, "both the forces which impelled the South to leave the Union and those which resisted until secession was an accomplished fact" (p. 1), especially conditions and sentiments in North Carolina as these factors relate to the evolution of the separatist movement there from 1789 to 1861.

ERRATUM

The second paragraph on page 357 should *read* as follows:

The first half of the book is given over to a general synthesis of the monographic studies previously made of subjects related to the central theme. Aside from integrating researches made, Dr. Sitterson makes his chief contribution through utilizing new sources bearing on North Carolina's decision to secede.

sion are recorded and interpreted. The insertion of three original maps, one covering the State's distribution of slaves in 1860, another the distribution of its vote in the presidential election of 1860, and a third that of its vote in the convention election of 1861 are used effectively to reach and illustrate conclusions. Such maps are helpful in providing an understanding of the political cross currents and diversity of opinion which characterized the secession movement.

Although the case in North Carolina was not entirely typical of other Southern States, this study does much to correct the common impression that the War for Southern Independence was between a solidly pro-slavery South and a solidly anti-slavery North. A pertinent example of the division of opinion in North Carolina one year before the War is quoted on page 199: "A Southern Confederacy will be worse than a rope of sand with So. Carolina at its head,—arrogant, self-willed and dictatorial as she is."

The elaborate documentation and excessive detail which characterize the treatment make it difficult for the reader to follow the narrative with perspective, but if this is a defect it is positive rather than negative, and enhances the reference value of the book. There are a few technical inconsistencies, and minor

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Dr. Sitterson's analysis follows essentially a geographical pattern. The coastline, tidewater, piedmont, and mountain sections are differentiated and their respective attitudes on secession are recorded and interpreted. The insertion of three original maps, one covering the State's distribution of slaves in 1860, another the distribution of its vote in the presidential election of 1860, and a third that of its vote in the convention election of 1861 are used effectively to reach and illustrate conclusions. Such maps are helpful in providing an understanding of the political cross currents and diversity of opinion which characterized the secession movement.

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The elaborate documentation and excessive detail which characterize the treatment make it difficult for the reader to follow the narrative with perspective, but if this is a defect it is positive rather than negative, and enhances the reference value of the book. There are a few technical inconsistencies, and minor

errors such, for example, as the occasional omission of italics in footnotes as on page 30. The significance of this study would have been extended if it had been linked with the growth of secession sentiment in other states and developed as a part of that movement in the lower South.

An excellent bibliography, an adequate index, and the helpful maps round out a publication that is a noteworthy contribution to Southern history. Judging the finished product in terms of the purpose expressed by Dr. Sitterson, namely, that of writing "A complete study of the secession movement in North Carolina," despite the possible loose use of the word "complete," there will doubtless be general agreement that the work is a distinctive achievement and a highly creditable addition to *The James Sprunt Historical Studies in History and Political Science* which, inaugurated in 1899, represent one of the best exhibits of the University of North Carolina in the field of historical research and publication. An ideal companion study will be that relating to disaffection in North Carolina during the Civil War, soon to be published, on which Miss Mary Shannon Smith, former head of the history department of Meredith College, has been working for the past quarter of a century.

A. J. HANNA.

ROLLINS COLLEGE,
WINTER PARK, FLA.

OLD HOMES AND GARDENS OF NORTH CAROLINA. Photographs by Bayard Wootten; historical text by Archibald Henderson; compiled by Mrs. Charles A. Cannon, Mrs. Lyman A. Cotten, and Mrs. James Edwin Latham. Published under the auspices of the Garden Club of North Carolina. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press. 1939. \$10.00.)

This beautiful and interesting volume presents 100 of the lovely old homes and gardens of North Carolina. The foreword to this edition, which is limited to 1,000 copies, is written and signed by Governor Clyde R. Hoey. There is a short introduction by Mrs. R. L. McMillan, president of the Garden Club of North Carolina. Dr. Henderson has contributed a thirty-page article on "The Place, The People, Their Homes and Gardens." A brief historical sketch accompanies each of the 100 plates. All of the plates except Number One, Tryon

Palace, are Wootten photographs. The greater part of the Tryon Palace was burned in 1798 (and not in 1789 as the text reads), and this plate, therefore, is based on an old drawing.

The homes selected for this volume reflect many styles of architecture and represent many different localities in the State. For obvious reasons, most of the plantation homes are in the Coastal Plain region. Most of the town houses are in Edenton, New Bern, Wilmington, Warrenton, and Raleigh. Most of the homes are of the neo-classic type, which was so much in vogue between 1800 and 1860. Most of the houses were built of wood, though a number of the town houses were of brick. A few are a combination of brick and wood, and there is one photograph of the Log House on Watauga River. Some of the houses are very simple in design, but most of them show grace and originality in detail, especially in windows and doorways. There are only two small houses shown, both of which are interesting architecturally and historically.

A few brief comments about certain of the homes and gardens may show something about the general nature of this unusual volume. Orton, near Wilmington, is said to be the finest example of colonial architecture in North Carolina. Hayes, at Edenton, is a "white manor house," flanked by two wings connected with the main structure by beautiful curving arcades. Beverly Hall, in Edenton, is conspicuous for its three porticos and graceful doorways, as well as for one of the loveliest gardens in the State. The Burgwin House, at Wilmington, which was the headquarters of Lord Cornwallis in 1781, is described as "the most characteristic of colonial type." The Governor Dudley House, in Wilmington, is a much more pretentious home. Oakland, which was the home of General Thomas Brown, is "the only surviving colonial manor house on the Cape Fear." The most distinctive colonial structure in New Bern is the John Wright Stanly House, with its ornamented hooded entrance flanked on either side by graceful columns with capital and base of simple Doric style. The broad central hall and staircase of this home are unusually fine. The Smalwood-Ward House in New Bern is a simple but finely proportioned structure. The weathered brick are set in Flemish bond,

and the porch, main cornice, and dormer windows are lavishly decorated with hand-carved ornaments. This house has one of the finest examples of a formal drawing room in North Carolina. The Marsh House at Bath is noted for its English bond chimney seventeen feet wide, and the Sanderson House in Jones County has a double chimney which is graceful and well-proportioned. The Cupola House in Edenton is widely known for its cupola and for its overhanging second story, an architectural feature seldom seen in North Carolina. The Booth House in Edenton has a gambrel roof and dormer windows similar to those in Williamsburg, Virginia. The Greenfield House, near Edenton, is a two-story, frame house, "built in farm-house style, with a well-proportioned double porch across the front. The Old Brick House in Pasquotank County has no porch. Stockton in Gates County has simple Doric columns, while the Old Pendleton Place in Warrenton has a portico of Greek Ionic columns. Lands End on the Perquimans River has an unusual roof line and a slate roof. The Eaton Place in Warrenton is a good example of the neo-classic style of architecture. The gambrel roof and diamond-paned windows make Woodlawn in Granville County distinctive. Wakefield, better known as the Joel Lane House, in Raleigh, is a simple type of house with two stories, gambrel roof, and small wing to the side. The Mordecai House, the John Haywood House, and Christ Church Rectory, all in Raleigh, are much more pretentious structures. The interior of the Haywood House is particularly impressive. The interior view of Cooleemee Plantation, on the Yadkin River, is one of the best in the book, and the winding staircase is one of the most beautiful the reviewer has seen.

One wishes that there might have been some interior views showing period furniture. Most of the nine interior views show only bare rooms or halls. It is rather surprising that no view is given of the slave quarters on some of the old plantations. The text accompanying the plate on Bracebridge Hall indicates that the quarters on this place are still preserved. A picture of a log cabin or the humble dwelling of a small farmer or "po' white" might have been out of place in this volume, but it must be remembered that the vast majority of North Caro-

linians did not have the lovely homes and gardens which are shown here. It is gratifying to know that some North Carolinians did.

HUGH T. LEFLER.

THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA,
CHAPEL HILL, N. C.

ONE HUNDRED YEARS AT V. M. I. By William Couper. (Richmond: Garrett and Massie. c. 1939. Volumes I and II. Pp. xiv, 360; x, 345. \$6.00.)

On April 21, 1851, there was a mutiny at the Virginia Military Institute. It was the first severe test of the system of discipline in the new military college, established at Lexington twelve years before. The cadets had been permitted to attend several sessions of an enthralling murder trial. When the lawyers proved too eloquent or verbose and the proceedings lasted longer than had been expected, the V. M. I. boys could not resist the temptation to hear the closing argument. Incited by the first class, they walked out of barracks and heard the speech without permission. This was open flouting of military authority, and the Superintendent, General F. H. Smith, treated it as such. After due consideration, he announced that the entire first class was dismissed—despite the fact that it was only a few months before graduation. The Board of Visitors later reinstated the erring cadets with the understanding that they be restricted to the limits of the Institute until finals. But they had learned a salutary lesson. It served them in good stead when they had to meet greater trials in after years.

The now forgotten mutiny is one of numerous interesting episodes which Colonel Couper describes in the first two volumes of his exhaustive centennial history of the Virginia Military Institute. The other two volumes are scheduled for appearance this spring. The executive officer and historiographer at V. M. I., Colonel Couper has had access to a large mass of official orders, letters, and reports as well as other valuable historical material. His first two volumes take the narrative from 1839, when V. M. I. was established as a result of the efforts of Colonel Claudius Crozet, a Napoleonic veteran, and some prominent native Virginians, through the earlier

struggling years, the decade of the "fifties" when T. J. Jackson was a professor, and the stormy period of the Civil War.

Reading these two published volumes of Colonel Couper's history, even an acerbic critic could not but be favorably impressed by several phases of the history of V. M. I. The author gives proof of the notable record of former cadets in the Civil War. The young military college in a large measure furnished the drill masters and the subordinate officers in several brigades of the Army of Northern Virginia, to say nothing of some able generals. Stonewall Jackson could partly attribute the fighting ability of his crack army corps to officers with V. M. I. training. When Pickett made his famous charge at Gettysburg he was fortunate in having V. M. I. men as colonels of thirteen of his fifteen regiments. In the civil life of the period also the V. M. I. alumni are shown to have been good citizens, often with superior records in their various fields of endeavor. Perhaps it was too much to expect that they would include any statesmen comparable to the great Virginians of the Revolutionary period. Yet some broadminded V. M. I. graduates will admit that there were weaknesses in the academic training of the college — weaknesses to this day only partly overcome.

Colonel Couper is to be congratulated upon the industry and scholarship he has displayed in his work. This reviewer has detected no factual errors. He does feel, however, that certain portions of the book could be made more readable. For example, although many of the numerous quotations are needed, others could have been effectively condensed or paraphrased.

North Carolinians will be interested to learn that one of the cadets killed in the charge at New Market was W. H. McDowell of their state. A little fellow of about fifteen, he lay there on the battlefield "more fit indeed for a cradle than a grave." We do not have to be pacifists to venture a question as to how many controversial causes are worth the sacrifice of one so young.

ROBERT DOUTHAT MEADE.

RANDOLPH-MACON WOMAN'S COLLEGE,
LYNCHBURG, VA.

THE LIFE AND TIMES OF EDMUND PENDLETON. By Robert Leroy Hilldrup. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press. 1931. Pp. vii, 351.)

This is a good book on an important public man hitherto not adequately studied. The author has used the sources rather exhaustively and according to accepted canons. More frequent footnotes would have made for clearness in the citation of authorities; but one is grateful that the notes run along with the text. There is a portrait of Pendleton and one of John Taylor of Caroline, his kinsman, protégé, and neighbor.

The general reader will be most interested in Pendleton's rapid rise from apprentice to the county clerk to leading lawyer and legislator. That this was due to solid qualities and not to subservience to the dominant aristocratic ring the author is confident. Unlike the contemporary Patrick Henry, likewise self-made, he made no great appeal to the masses. But he became George Washington's lawyer and leading judge of the state's highest courts; and he was chairman of the revolutionary Committee of Safety and chairman of the convention that determined Virginia's adherence to the new Federal Union. Of interest, too, though but meagerly told, was his extensive accumulation of Virginia farm lands and his membership in great western land companies.

A real contribution to the history of the times, the reviewer thinks, is the author's long and fatiguing account of the colonial legislatures in which Pendleton served; for here we see how seriously the Burgesses took their job and hence why—perhaps—some more independent status for Virginia was probably inevitable. Of more general interest is the cleverness with which Pendleton and his group managed to keep effectual control over matters continually in their hands. Patrick Henry stampeded the Burgesses with his Stamp Act speech but the minutes showed unobjectionable, if superfluous, resolutions. Henry stampeded the St. John's Church convention into arming the colony but found himself sidetracked in his ambition for military distinction. In the convention of 1776 Henry's desire for a declaration of independence by the Continental Congress was acceded to but tied up with the concession was the reservation to the state of freedom to make its own government, which

Pendleton's group proceeded to do without awaiting outside authorization and with the controlling places in their hands. And so it was always.

Pendleton's devotion to vested interests finds many illustrations. He was against title to land based on Indian purchase. He was much interested in boundary lines and was cautious about Virginia's cession of northwest territories. As judge he supported the authority of the treaty of 1783 over state legislation. Eager as he seems to have been to collaborate with Jefferson in state policies for the new era, he could not bring himself to favor abolition of the eldest son's special privilege or confiscation of the Episcopal Church's glebe lands; if the Episcopal Church alone could not retain the right to support by taxes, he was willing to have the other churches so supported along with it. And against the impairment of Virginia property rights which he saw involved in the Hamiltonian program he protested privately to Washington as well as in a notable political tract, thereby paving the way for John Taylor.

To the reviewer the author's study would have been more valuable had he assumed a more critical attitude toward his subject. If he had admitted Pendleton to have been tricky or selfish or wobbly or timid or just wrong on some occasions, his hero would have been less perfect but more real. But for all this, it is a book worth while.

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JOHN TYLER: CHAMPION OF THE OLD SOUTH. By Oliver Perry Chitwood. (New York: D. Appleton-Century Company. 1939. Pp. xv, 496. \$4.00.)

This definitive biography of a champion of the Old South sets in proper perspective and balance one of the most maligned figures of the ante-bellum period. It was John Tyler's fate to inherit the presidency a month after Harrison's inauguration and to be read out of the Whig party within five months because he disagreed with the nationalistic wing on the bank issue. Contemporaries charged that Tyler accepted a position on the Whig ticket in 1840 only to become a traitor to the party and its

policies. That the Whigs had no principles in 1840 except opposition to the party in power, and that Tyler was not committed to a bank charter and other planks in a Whig platform belatedly announced by Henry Clay in 1841, are facts that political historians have recognized for a score of years. There is, therefore, nothing new in Professor Chitwood's revisionist view that Tyler was a consistent state rights advocate of Jeffersonian principles. He is the first scholar, however, to present a well-rounded, objective analysis of Tyler's career, and he has done the job so thoroughly and so meticulously that it will not need to be repeated.

Nearly half the volume is devoted to the five-year period from the campaign of 1840 to Tyler's retirement from the presidency. This emphasis is justifiable, for that half decade brought Tyler prominence if not power and established him as a controversialist in the national political arena. Of the remaining portion of the book, 175 pages trace his career to 1840 and 60 pages treat his life as a country gentleman at "Sherwood Forest" and his peacemaking efforts on the eve of the Civil War. It is quite likely that Tyler would deserve a substantial biography had he never attained the presidency. A graduate of William and Mary College, he retained a lively interest in his alma mater, served as a member of its Board of Visitors, and in a speech punctuated with "flashes of oratory" opposed its removal to Richmond. He studied law, practiced his profession, and rose rapidly in political office, serving several terms in the House of Delegates, five years in the lower house of Congress, a biennium as governor of Virginia, nine years in the United States Senate, and as a delegate to the Virginia constitutional convention of 1829-1830. Professor Chitwood credits Tyler with statemanship of high order in much of his public service.

On all of the important issues of the era—tariff, bank, internal improvements, public lands—Tyler was a consistent opponent of nationalism. He disapproved South Carolina's course in the nullification controversy, spoke eloquently against the Force Bill, cast the only vote against it in the Senate, and played an important rôle in initiating the compromise tariff of

1833. "Tyler never appeared to better advantage in his entire career," Professor Chitwood concludes, "than he did in the part he played in the nullification crisis" (p. 120). In leaving the Democratic party in 1834, Tyler followed the only course consistent with his record, but Professor Chitwood questions the expediency of his resignation from the Senate in 1836 because he could not obey legislative instructions to vote for the Expunging Resolution. "The decision to continue in the Whig ranks [after Jackson's retirement] was probably the greatest mistake ever made by Tyler" (p. 155). His nomination for the vice-presidency was opposed by most of the Whig leaders in Virginia; he "was given the second place on the ticket mainly because he was from the South and had been a strong advocate of States' rights" (p. 172). Professor Chitwood rejects the charges that Tyler changed his attitude on the bank issue at the Harrisburg convention (pp. 172-73). Yet he blames Tyler for withholding from the electorate a frank statement of his real convictions, and criticizes him for assuming "a place of leadership in a party the majority of whose members advocated measures he had spent a life career in opposing" (p. 192). In the party schism of 1841, Professor Chitwood marshals an imposing array of evidence to show that Tyler "put loyalty to duty and conviction above considerations of expediency," but in doing so hoped that this course "would prove the right road to the succession" (p. 219). In a chapter on "Perfidy or Patriotism," the author's verdict is that Tyler "had kept the faith, even though he had not fought a good fight" (p. 268). But, he concludes, the successes of his quadrennium in the presidency show "a remarkable record for an administration of a 'President without a party'" (p. 341).

In discussing the Missouri Compromise, the author says that the exclusion of slavery from a large part of Louisiana territory "turned over to the North a vast area that would in the future insure its preponderance in the Union" (pp. 52-53). As the institution a generation later reached its natural limits, it is difficult to see how the exclusion affected the situation in a practical sense, although it did ban a theoretical Negro from an impossible place.

Although Professor Chitwood appends copious footnotes, he does not include a bibliography. The publication of so good a biography without a critical essay on authorities is a real misfortune. Careful verification would have eliminated a sprinkling of minor errors in quoting.

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HISTORICAL NEWS

"The Lost Colony," Paul Green's historical drama, was presented for the fourth consecutive summer, from June 29 through Labor Day, September 2, at the Waterside Theatre, Fort Raleigh, Roanoke Island.

The North Carolina Society, Colonial Dames of America, on June 26 unveiled a marker at Franklin, Macon County, marking the route followed by DeSoto and his party four hundred years ago.

The North Carolina Historical Commission met on August 30 in Chapel Hill. The secretary's budgetary estimates for the 1941-43 biennium were approved, and routine business was transacted.

Professor R. W. Lee of the Mars Hill College faculty taught history and government in the Wake Forest College summer school.

Dr. David A. Lockmiller has been appointed head of the department of history and political science at State College. He spent a part of the summer in research for a biography of General Enoch H. Crowder, in Chicago and Washington.

Professor J. A. McGeachy of Davidson College spent the summer in research at the University of Chicago.

Professor Robert Wauchope, formerly of the University of Georgia, has been added to the faculty of the University of North Carolina. He will carry a part-time teaching load in archaeology and will also direct the State-wide Work Projects Administration archaeological project, which has been in operation for several months. At the present time the project is conducting one unit at the Frutchey Mound, in Montgomery County, and another unit in Orange County, and plans are being made to open additional units.

Recent addresses by Dr. C. C. Crittenden include the following: July 26, to the Assembly of the 189th Rotary District, at Atlantic Beach, N. C.; August 1, to the Fourth Annual Superintendents' Conference, sponsored by the State Department of Public Instruction, at Cullowhee; August 18, at the second annual pilgrimage to Morattock Primitive Baptist Church (Washington County), which has recently been restored; and September 3, to the teachers of Wake County (excluding the City of Raleigh), at Cary.

Books received include: Harry R. Stevens, *The Ohio Bridge* (Cincinnati: The Ruter Press. c. 1939); Rayford W. Logan, editor, *The Attitude of the Southern White Press toward Negro Suffrage, 1932-1940* (Washington: The Foundation Publishers. 1940); Robert T. Thompson, *Colonel James Neilson: A Business Man of the Early Machine Age in New Jersey, 1784-1862* (New Brunswick, N. J.: Rutgers University Press. 1940); William Alexander Mabry, *The Negro in North Carolina Politics since Reconstruction. Historical Papers of the Trinity College Historical Society, Series XXIII* (Durham, N. C.: Duke University Press. 1940).

In 1935 Congress created the United States De Soto Commission, consisting of seven members including the chairman, Dr. John R. Swanton, of the Smithsonian Institution. The report of this commission, submitted to Congress in 1939, has been published under the title, *Final Report of the United States De Soto Expedition Commission* (House Document No. 71, Seventy-sixth Congress, First Session). According to this report the Spanish explorer and his men passed through what is now western North Carolina, going through or near the site of the present town of Highlands, and through the sites of the towns of Franklin and Murphy.

Beginning with the September issue, the *North Carolina Public School Bulletin*, a publication of the State Department of Public Instruction, is carrying a column titled "Tar Heel History," the copy for which is prepared by the Historical Commission.

In collaboration with the State Department of Conservation and Development, the North Carolina Historical Commission has published the second edition of the *Guide to North Carolina Historical Highway Markers*, listing the 294 markers which had been approved through March 1, 1940. Copies of this bulletin may be had by writing to either the Department or the Commission.

The North Carolina Historical Commission has published a large edition of each of two leaflets: *How the North Carolina Historical Commission Serves the Public* and *The Hall of History*. Copies may be had from the secretary.

In press is the fifth volume of the *Records of the Moravians in North Carolina*. Just as the preceding volumes, it will be edited by Dr. Adelaide L. Fries, Archivist of the Moravian Church, Southern Province, and will be published by the North Carolina Historical Commission.

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INDEX TO VOLUME XVII

1940

A

- Abbett, Carol Hope, appointed fellow, 282.
- Abel, Annie Heloise, work cited, 200n.
- Adams, J. T., work cited, 118n.
- Adams, John, mentioned, 29.
- Adams, John Quincy, adherents try to defeat Crawford, 68; advocates the Oregon question, 46.
- Address Delivered before the South Carolina Institute at its First Annual Fair*, cited, 314n.
- Admiralty in 1861. The Confederate States District Court for the Division of the Pamlico of the District of North Carolina*, article by William Morrison Robinson, Jr., 132-138.
- Aiken, Elizabeth, wills lot to Charleston, 121.
- Alexander, John McKnitt, Mecklenburg Declaration in handwriting of, 45.
- Alexander, M. Winslow, has possession of document, 45.
- Alexander, William, owns vessel, 134.
- Alexander, William J., letter from, 253, 257; marries, 263.
- Alexander, William Lee, seeks appointment at West Point, 253.
- Alison, Francis, establishes academy, 34.
- Allibone, S. A., work cited, 30n.
- Alsbaugh, Samuel, receives pay, 353.
- American Historical Association, holds meeting, 191.
- "American Juristic Thinking in the Twentieth Century," published lecture, 79.
- America's Tragedy*, cited, 118n.
- Anderson, Elizabeth, marries, 119.
- Anderson, Robert, daughter marries, 119.
- Anderson, Walker, sketch of, 166n.
- Anson, John C., letter from, 166.
- Ante-Bellum Attempt to Regulate the Price and Supply of Cotton*, article by Thomas Payne Govan, 302-313.
- Ante-Bellum Attitude of South Carolina toward Manufacturing and Agriculture*, cited, 320n.
- Anthony, William, attends the University, 150n.
- Antislavery Origins of the Civil War in the United States*, received, 85; reviewed, 186.
- Appalachian South, Cherokees live in, 199.
- Apthorp, Mary, marries, 31.
- Archaeological Society, holds meeting, 81, 281.
- "The Archivist in American Scholarship," published, 83.
- Arnett, A. M., gives report on Federal aid, 84.
- Articles of Confederation, fundamental law changed from, 287; too weak to serve North Carolina, 290.
- Ashe, Samuel, defeated, 291; marker dedicated to, 80.
- Ashe, William S., delivers letter, 251.
- Atkins, Simon Green, Negro educator, mentioned, 269.
- Attitude of the Southern White Press toward Negro, 1932-1940*, book received, 369.
- Austin, A. A., signs letter, 145.

B

- Badger, George E., consulted as to procedure, 132; mentioned, 260.
- Baker, Fred A., completes work, 228.
- Baltimore, has labor organizations, 322.
- Bank of England, large demands on resources of, 304.
- Bank of the United States, pressed by demand for gold, 303; sends out circulars, 306.
- Banner, William, pursues horses, 355.
- Baptists, in the United States, 238.
- Barden, Graham A., makes address, 80.
- Barnhart, John D., article, *Southern Contributions to the Social Order of the Old Northwest*, 237-248.
- Barringer, Victor C., sketch of, 65n.
- Barrow, Alexander, sketch of, 51n.
- Barrow, William, mentioned, 349.
- Baskerville, George D., signs letter, 145.
- Battle, Elisha, attends convention, 293.
- Battle, Joel D., letter from, 15; sketch of, 151n.
- Battle, Richard H., article cited, 100n.
- Baxter, Joseph Ray, appointed fellow, 282.

- Beale, Howard K., presides at meeting, 191; reads paper, 83.
- Beard, C. A., work cited, 36*n*, 321*n*. *Benjamin Franklin*, cited, 27*n*.
- Berry, B. W., captures schooner, 135.
- Berry, James E., appointed bailiff, 134.
- Bevan and Humphreys, agents to draw on, 304.
- Bibliography on applied science and useful arts, 171; on biography, 177; on drama, 173; on economics and sociology, 168; on fiction, 173; on fine arts, 172; on genealogy, 175; on history, 176; on literature, 174; on new editions and reprints, 178; on North Carolina, 167; on poetry, 172; on religion and philosophy, 167; on science, 170; on travel, 175.
- Biddle, Nicholas, friendly with leaders in South, 303; resigns, 304.
- Biggs, Asa, letter from, 58, 259; opens first session of court, 133; recommends appointment, 66.
- Biographical Memoirs of Hugh Williamson*, cited, 27*n*.
- Blake, J. Davidson, sketch of, 250*n*.
- Bloodworth, Timothy, attends convention, 293; elected to convention, 296.
- Blount, John Gray, active for convention, 288; attends convention, 292.
- Blount, William, defeated, 291; delegate to Philadelphia, 288.
- Boddie, W. W., work cited, 128*n*.
- Boucher, C. S., work cited, 320*n*.
- Boyd, James, elected vice president, 82.
- Boyd, W. K., work cited, 13*n*, 323*n*.
- Bragg, Thomas, takes oath, 138.
- Branch, John, signs circular, 306.
- Branch, Wm. J., signs letter, 145.
- Briggs, Willis G., delivers address, 381.
- Brisbane, A. H., complains of opposition, 320.
- Brooks, Preston S., makes political address, 127.
- Brown, Frank C., delivers address, 82.
- Brown, Thomas W., appointed commissioner, 137.
- Bruce, K., work cited, 322*n*.
- Buchanan, James, secretary of state, 249.
- Bunbunk, W. R. S., appointed commissioner, 134.
- Burke, Edmund, quoted on exalted position of master, 119.
- Burkitt, Lemuel, explains the seat of government, 290.
- Burnett, Edmund C., work cited, 26*n*.
- Butner, John, receives pay, 353.

C

- Cabarrus, Stephen, attends convention, 292.
- Caldwell & Company: A Southern Financial Empire*, reviewed, 188.
- Caldwell, David, attends convention, 293.
- Caldwell, Green W., resigns appointment, 59; seeks appointment, 257; sketch of, 46*n*, 257*n*.
- Caldwell, Rogers, sells Southern municipal bonds, 189.
- Caldwell, Wallace E., announces Mayflower Cup award, 81.
- Calhoun, John C., gives up law for politics and planting, 115; money raised in behalf of, 121.
- California's Larkin Settles Old Debts: A View of North Carolina, 1847-1856*, letters edited by Robert J. Parker and David Leroy Corbitt, 332-346.
- Callcott, W. H., teaches in summer school, 193.
- Cameron, William, letter from, 343.
- Campbell, Archibald, orders payment, 350.
- "The Career of Montfort Stokes in North Carolina," published, 193.
- Carpenter, J. T., work cited, 316*n*.
- Carraway, Gertrude, delivers address, 82.
- Carroll, E. M., granted sabbatical leave, 282.
- Carson, J. P., work cited, 118*n*.
- Carter, Archibald G., letter from, 146, 164; sketch of, 146*n*.
- Carter, Clarence E., his book received, 283.
- Caskey, W. M., mentioned, 356.
- Cass, Lewis, opposition of Cherokees reported to, 205.
- Caswell-Nash Chapter, D. A. R., unveils marker, 281.
- Caswell, Richard, active for convention, 288; heads ticket, 291.
- Cater, Stephen, offers reward for Negro slave, 234.
- Cattell, Charles, brands Negro slaves, 235.
- Centennial Address before the Charleston Chamber of Commerce*, cited, 117*n*.
- Century Before Manumission, Side-lights on Slavery in Mid-Eighteenth-Century South Carolina*, article by Marguerite B. Hamer, 232-236.

- Century of Social Thought*, reviewed, 79.
- Chamberlain, Hope Summerell, prepares paper, 81; reviews *Son of Carolina*, 182.
- Chapman, Alfred, detailed to make census roll, 212; enters upon duties, 213; makes payments, 214; makes report, 219.
- Charles, R. C., pursues horses, 355.
- Charleston, has labor organizations, 322; position of merchants in, 117; slaves imported into, 232.
- Charlotte, celebrates Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence, 281.
- Cherokee Indians, adjust differences, 200; ask permission to move West, 119; census roll described, 206, 212, 217, 222, 225, 229; census roll sent for approval, 221, 229; census submitted for approval, 205; ejected from homes, 200; emigrate to Arkansas, 199; enroll in census, 202; flee to mountains, 200; intermarried with whites classified, 210; live in Appalachian South, 199; live in impoverishment, 201; organize formal tribal government, 201; payments made to, 214; retain tribal government, 201; sell two tracts of land, 223; settle in Texas, 200, states inhabited by, 199; tribe disrupted, 199.
- Chevalier, Michel, work cited, 237n.
- Cheves, Langdon, enjoys social distinction, 115.
- Child Labor Legislation in the Southern Textile States*, reviewed, 74.
- "Chinese Traditional Historiography as Revealed in the Compilation and Commentaries on the Ch'ien Han Shu," subject of discussion at historical meeting, 191.
- Chitwood, Oliver Perry, book received, 86; *John Tyler: Champion of the Old South*, reviewed, 364.
- Christie, John, refuses to give information, 204.
- Chronological and Statistical History of Cotton*, cited, 329n.
- Churchill, Frank C., makes census roll, 203, 223.
- Clark, C. C., admitted to practice as an attorney, 133.
- Clark, J. D., delivers address, 82.
- Clark, T. D., teaches in summer school, 193.
- Clark, V. S., work cited, 316n.
- Clark, William J., letter from, 139; sketch of, 139n.
- Clemson, Thomas G., writes about Christmas vacation, 127.
- Cleveland, Catherine C., work cited, 245n.
- Cleveland, Leslie Joseph, appointed fellow, 282.
- "Climatic Theory of the Plantation," paper read, 191.
- Clingman, Thomas L., mentioned, 259.
- Clyde, Paul H., delivers address, 192; teaches in summer school, 192.
- Common People of the Old South*, cited, 322n.
- Cobb, Howell, mentioned, 276.
- Coffin, Henry Sloane, lectures on "Religion in the Last Hundred Years," 79.
- Cole, A. C., work cited, 318n.
- Colley, Frank Harris, appointed fellow, 282.
- Colonel James Neilson: A Business Man of the Early Machine Age in New Jersey, 1784-1862*, book received, 369.
- Colvin, Robert B., letter from, 346.
- Confederate Privateers*, cited, 132n.
- Confederate privateers, rendezvous at Hatteras, 132.
- Confederate states, district courts for, 132.
- Conservative party, demands peace, 2.
- Conservative*, supports Vance, 107, 108.
- Contemporary Opinion of Hugh Williamson*, article by Delbert Harold Gilpatrick, 26-36.
- Cooper, G. M., makes address, 80.
- Cooper, John B. R., advises about trip, 332.
- "The Coordination of Objectives in Historical and Archaeological Work in North Carolina," address delivered, 83.
- Corbitt, David Leroy, attends meeting, 84; edits letters, *California's Larkin Settles Old Debts: A View of North Carolina, 1847-1856*, 332-346.
- Cordes, Samuel, engages in the practice of medicine and planting, 116.
- Cotton Kingdom*, cited, 319n.
- Cotton Mill Commercial Features*, cited, 313n.
- Coulter, E. Merton, *The Other Half of Old New Orleans*, reviewed, 77.
- Couper, William, book received, 86; *One Hundred Years at V. M. I.*, reviewed, 361.
- Cowan, Robert H., sketch of, 263n.
- Coxe, J., pursues horses, 355.
- Coxetter, L. M., case against, 134.
- Craven, Avery, *The Repressible Conflict, 1830-1861*, reviewed, 184.

- Craven, Braxton, facts about his early life, 68.
 Craven, John, mentioned, 71.
 Crawford, William H., presidential candidate, 67.
 Crenshaw, Ollinger, reviews *Joseph E. Brown and the Confederacy*, 275.
 Crist, Rudolph, mentioned, 349.
 Crittenden, Charles Christopher, attends meeting, 84; delivers address, 80, 191-192, 282, 369; edits volume, 85; presides at meeting, 191; reads paper, 84; tours eastern part of state, 281.
 Crossan, Thomas M., commands North Carolina ship, 132.
 Crowder, Enoch H., biography in preparation, 368.
 Crutchfield, Colbert F., assistant state supervisor Historical Records Survey, 85.
 "Cultural Relations with Hispanic America," subject of discussion at historical meeting, 191.
 Cumming, W. P., publishes article, 84.
 Currey, Benjamin F., encounters opposition, 203.
- D
- Danforth, Jno., mentioned, 44.
 Daniel, T. R. J., recommends appointment, 66.
 Daniels, Josephus, his book received, 194.
 Daughters of the American Revolution, Colonel Polk Chapter, unveils marker, 80.
 Daves, John Collins, dies, 193.
 Davidson, Elizabeth H., *Child Labor Legislation in the Southern Texile States*, reviewed, 74.
 Davidson, William, letter from, 250.
 "'Davie Copy' of the Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence," address delivered before the Daughters of the American Revolution, 191.
 Davie, William R., active for convention, 288; advocates second convention, 296; attends convention, 292; delegate to Philadelphia, 288; makes motion, 299; supports publicity for ratification, 290.
 Davis, A. B., signs circular, 306.
 Davis, Charles L., directed to report on challenged applications, 227.
 Davis, Jefferson, administration complained about, 2; appealed to for aid, 18; receives letter relative to Holden's peace efforts, 9; replies about negotiations, 21; urged to obtain peace, 6; urged to open peace negotiations, 20; warned of discontent, 93.
 Dawlton, Isaac, pursues horse, 349.
 Dawson, John, writes about Williamson, 31.
 DeBow, J. D. B., work cited, 315n.
 Democrats, oppose Holden, 108.
 Denman, C. L., mentioned, 356.
 de Saussure, William H., enjoys social distinction, 115.
 Dickens, Charles, admired, 77.
Dictionary of Authors, cited, 30n.
Disloyalty in the Confederacy, cited, 2n.
 Doar, David, work cited, 116n.
 Dobbin, James C., recommends appointment, 66; sketch of, 48n, 140n.
 Dodd, Dorothy, mentioned, 356.
 Dodge, D. K., signs circular, 306.
 Donnell, E. J., work cited, 329n.
 Douglas, Stephen A., marries Martha Denny Martin, 147n.
 Dowd, Clement, work cited, 100n.
 Dowd, Jerome, *The Life of Braxton Craven*, reviewed, 69.
 Drayton, William, enjoys social distinction, 115.
 Dubs, Homer H., reads paper, 191.
 Dudley, James Benson, Negro educator, mentioned, 269.
 Duke University, announces appointments, 282.
 Dumond, Dwight L., *Antislavery Origins of the Civil War in the United States*, received, 85; reviewed, 186; mentioned, 356.
- E
- "Earliest Permanent Settlement in Carolina: Nathaniel Batts and the Comberford Map," article published, 84.
 Eastern Band of Cherokee, extent of land in North Carolina, 202.
 Eaton, Clement, his book received, 283; reviews *The Presidential Election of 1824 in North Carolina*, 67.
 Eaton, George C., signs letter, 145.
 Eaton, John S., signs letter, 145; signs resolution as chairman, 144n.
 Eaton, William, Sr., signs letter, 145.
Economic Aspects of Southern Sectionalism, cited, 320n.
Economic History of the South, cited, 317n.
Economic Interpretations of the Constitution, cited, 36n.
 Edenton, celebration held at, 300.
 Edwards, Weldon N., signs letter, 145; visits Washington, 261.
 Eggleston, Edward, describes "Judge Watkins," 247.

Eggleston, George C., work cited, 237n.
 Ellis, Mary, advertises for slaves, 235.
 "English and Scottish Ballads and Other Folk-Songs Collected in North Carolina," address delivered, 82.
Enrollment Records of the Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians, article by Gaston Litton, 199-231.
Essays on Domestic Industry, cited, 118n.
Essays on Domestic Industry; or, An Inquiry into the Expediency of Establishing Manufactures in South Carolina, cited, 313n.
 "Eternal South," address delivered, 81.
 Eure, Thad, delivers address, 281.
 Evans, Luther H., national director, 85.
 Evans, Owen, paid money, 350.
 "Evolving Conception of General Education," published lecture, 79.
 Ewing, John, on committee, 27.
Excursion through the Slave States, cited, 123n.

F

Farnham, Eliza W., work cited, 239n.
 Farrand, Max, work cited, 30n.
 Fayetteville, celebration held at, 80; convention adopts constitution, 299; convention convenes, 299; convention, Federalists in control of, 299.
Fayetteville Observer, attempts to reason with Holden, 8.
 Featherstonhaugh, G. W., compares gentlemen of different sections of United States, 123; work cited, 123n.
 Federal Constitution, adopted, 287.
 Federalist newspapers, conduct campaign, 297.
Felix Grundy: Champion of Democracy, book received, 283.
Fifty Years in Both Hemispheres or Reminiscences of the Life of a Former Merchant, cited, 311n.
 "Fifty Years of North Carolina State College," paper read, 81.
Final Report of the United States De Soto Expedition Commission, published, 369.
 "Financing and Marketing the Sugar Crop of the Old South," paper read, 84.
 Fisher, Charles, manages campaign, 67; mentioned, 39.
 Fitzhugh, George, vilifies factories of the North, 321; work cited, 321n.

Five North Carolina Negro Educators, reviewed, 269.
 Flish, J. A., work cited, 322n.
 Foght, Harold W., mentioned, 202n.
 Fogle, Augustus, mentioned, 355.
 Folk-Lore Society, holds annual meeting, 81.
 "Folk-Similies," address delivered, 82.
 Folmsbee, Stanley John, book received, 86; *Sectionalism and Internal Improvements in Tennessee, 1796-1845*, reviewed, 271.
Foreigners in the Confederacy, book received, 194.
 Fort Raleigh, historical drama presented at, 368.
 Foster, William Omer, publishes article, 193.
 Foltz, Peter, mentioned, 349.
 Francis, John Wakefield, mentioned, 28; work cited, 27n.
 Frankfurter, Alfred M., gives illustrated lecture, 82.
 Franklin, Benjamin, mentioned, 27.
 Franklin, John Hope, reviews *Five North Carolina Negro Educators*, 269.
 Fraser, Charles, work cited, 115n.
 Frazier, Sowel, paid for pursuing man, 353.
Freedom of Thought in the Old South, book received, 283.
 Freeman, Douglas C., writes dissertation, 356.
 Fries, Adelaide L., edits volume, 370.
 Frutchey Mound, being worked, 368.
 Furnas, Phillip, delivers address, 82.

G

Gaillard, J. Porcher, his farm journal lists social calls, 116.
 Galloway, James, attends convention, 293.
 Gamble and Hamilton, persuade planters to associate themselves, 306.
 Gamble, John G., holds many offices, 303; originates idea of help for cotton planters, 302; signs circular, 306.
 Garrison, William Lloyd, receives gift, 121.
Gentry of Ante-Bellum South Carolina, article by Rosser Howard Taylor, 114-138.
Georgia and the Union in 1850, mentioned, 356.
 Gilmer, John A., advises Vance, 14.
 Gilpatrick, Delbert Harold, article, *Contemporary Opinion of Hugh Williamson*, 26-36.

- Godfrey, James L., teaches in summer school, 192.
- Goins, John, convenes council, 224.
- Goodman, Warren Herbert, appointed fellow, 282.
- Gosney, Mrs. C. A., elected secretary-treasurer, 82.
- Gourdin, Robert Newman, his brother engaged in business, 117.
- Gourdin, Samuel, abandons law for planting, 115.
- Govan, Thomas Payne, article, *An Ante-Bellum Attempt to Regulate the Price and Supply of Cotton*, 302-312.
- Governor Vance and the Peace Movement*, article by Richard E. Yates, 1-25, 89-113.
- Graham, Frank P., injects academic freedom, 181; makes address, 80; writes preface, 269.
- Graham, William A., advises Vance, 13; appealed to, 14; makes long speech on peace, 20; message mentioned, 59; recommends appointment, 66; talks with Holden, 10.
- Graves, John Temple, delivers address, 81.
- Gray, Robert, letter from, 140.
- Great Revival in the West*, cited, 245*n*.
- Great Revival, takes place, 244.
- Green, Paul, his historical drama presented, 368.
- Green, William M., forms part of committee to meet President, 154; letter from, 63, 143, 253; sketch of mentioned, 38*n*.
- Gregg, William, alleges false pride in not establishing manufacturing, 118; argues for reserve Negro labor, 315; complains of opposition, 320; contrasts mill and agricultural returns, 314; gives assurances of not joining protectionists, 326; work cited, 118*n*, 313*n*.
- Griffin, Clarence W., reviews *History of Gaston County*, 72.
- Griswold, R. W., work cited, 28*n*.
- Grove, William Barry, purchases history, 34.
- Guide to North Carolina Historical Highway Markers*, published, 370.
- Gutherie, B. S., turns over accounts, 66.
- H
- Hale, E. J., his advice to Vance, 22.
- Hall, Edward P., note given to, 334.
- Hall, James, work cited, 238*n*.
- Hamer, Marguerite B., article, *A Century Before Manumission, Side-lights on Slavery in Mid-Eighteenth-Century South Carolina*, 232-236.
- Hamilton, Horatio, mentioned, 349.
- Hamilton, James, Jr., holds many offices, 303; originates idea of help to cotton planters, 302; signs circular, 306.
- Hamilton, John A., letter from, 56.
- Hamilton, J. G. de Roulhac, work cited, 4*n*, 110*n*.
- Hammond, James H., address cited, 314*n*; alleges false pride in not establishing manufacturing, 118; becomes a planter, 115; desires military office, 122; letter to, quoted, 307; supports tax plan, 325.
- Hampton, Wade, mentioned, 184.
- Hanes, Christian, mentioned, 349.
- Hanes, Martin, mentioned, 349.
- Hanes, Philip, mentioned, 349.
- Hanna, A. J., reviews *The Secession Movement in North Carolina*, 356.
- Hannah Balch*, libels filed for, 133.
- Harrell, Dempsey, letter from, 337, 341.
- Harris, Bernice Kelly, awarded Mayflower Cup, 81; gives talk, 81.
- Harris, David G., describes Christmas, 127.
- Harrison, William Henry, governs territory, 247.
- Hartman, John, mentioned, 349.
- Hatteras, surrendered forts at, 138.
- Haughton, John H., letter to governor mentioned, 12.
- Hauser, Timothy, paid for pursuing man, 353.
- Hawk, E. Q., work cited, 317*n*.
- Hawkins, Frank, signs letter, 145.
- Hawkins, John D., Jr., letter from, 65, 145, 255; marries Jane Boyd, 256*n*; signs letter, 145; signs resolution as secretary, 144*n*; sketch of 37*n*.
- Hawkins, William B., letter from, 62.
- Hayne, Robert Y., enjoys social distinction, 115; enters commission business, 307.
- Haywood, William, Jr., letter from, 264.
- Haywood, William Dallas, letter from, 152; sends proceedings to President, 152*n*.
- Haywood, William H., Jr., his speech printed, 44*n*, 54*n*; letter from, 43, 44, 47, 49, 50, 51, 55, 56, 61, 148, 153, 251, 253, 257, 265.
- Hearon, Cleo, her work mentioned, 356.
- Hedges, Isaac H., nominated by President, 49.

- Hege, George, paid for assistance, 352.
- Henderson, Archibald, delivers address, 191; reviews North Carolina books, 81; writes article, 358.
- Henderson, Archibald E., signs letter, 145.
- Henderson County, citizens sign petition, 91.
- Henderson, Daniel, handles census roll, 204.
- Henderson, E. B., mentioned, 214.
- Henderson, James E., designated committeeman, 228.
- Henderson Roll, census of Indians, discussed, 203.
- Hendrick, Burton J., his book received, 194.
- Henegan, B. F., discusses the planter in his message, 115.
- Henry, H. M., work cited, 114*n*.
- Henry Nutt*, captured, 135.
- Henry, Patrick, mentioned, 363.
- Henshaw, Jesse G., urged to foster peace, 6.
- Herbert Manton*, libel filed for, 133.
- Hester, Joseph G., appointment of, 219; enters upon work, 219.
- Heywood, Henry, his estate advertised, 233.
- Highland Call*, historic drama, presented, 81.
- Hill, Benjamin H., mentioned, 276.
- Hill, D. H., reports on North Carolina affairs, 16.
- Hill, Whitmell, attends convention, 292.
- Hill, Louise Biles, *Joseph E. Brown and the Confederacy*, reviewed, 275.
- Hilldrup, Robert Leroy, book received, 85; *The Life and Times of Edmund Pendleton*, reviewed, 363.
- Hillhouse, D. P., signs circular, 306.
- Hilliard, Henry, signs circular, 306.
- Hilliard, Nancy, enlarges hotel, 150*n*.
- Hillsboro convention, convenes, 292; debate in, 293; Dobbs County not represented in, 292; mentioned, 289; public sentiment crystallizes before, 291.
- Hine, Jacob, mentioned, 349.
- Historic Houses of South Carolina*, cited, 118*n*.
- Historical Records of North Carolina*, published in three volumes, 284.
- Historical Records Survey, exhibits work, 281; finds important historical records, 283; terminated a single nation-wide project, 85.
- History of Gaston County*, reviewed, 72.
- History of the North Carolina State College of Agriculture and Engineering of the University of North Carolina, 1889-1939*, received, 86; reviewed, 180.
- History of Prices and of the State of the Circulation from 1793 to 1856*, cited, 304*n*.
- History of Williamsburg County*, cited, 128*n*.
- Hoey, Clyde R., delivers address, 281; writes foreword, 358.
- Hoke, John F., sketch of, 141*n*.
- Holden, William W., advocates peace, 2; announces his candidacy, 98; carries Johnston, Randolph, and Wilkes counties, 112; condemns Vance's attitude, 104; criticizes campaign, 104; criticizes Confederate government, 3; defends himself, 103; demands a state convention, 90; efforts made to implicate him in Heroes of America, 110; insists on not leaving the Confederacy, 104; letter from, 57; receives small vote, 111; repudiation of, 95; resumes publication of paper, 19; sketch of, 57*n*; threatens to take state out of Confederacy, 3; thrust from party councils, 25.
- Holder, J. E., pursues horses, 355.
- Holland, Annie Wealthy, Negro educator, mentioned, 269.
- Hooper, William, defeated, 291; gets in fight, 289.
- Horne, Henry, considered for renomination, 50.
- Horse Society, constitution of, 350.
- Horse Society*, document edited by Douglas LeTell Rights, 347-355.
- Horton, Henry H., mentioned, 189.
- Hosack, David, mentioned, 28; work cited, 27*n*.
- Hottinguer and Company, an associate in cotton speculation, 305; refuses bills, 311.
- Howard, George, Jr., administers oath, 133.
- Howerton, William M., sketch of, 65*n*.
- Hubert Howe Bancroft Library, manuscript collection in, 333.
- Huger, Alfred, quoted from address, 122.
- Hughes, J. J., signs circular, 306.
- Hume, Charlotte, marries, 118.
- Hume, John, daughter marries, 118.
- Humphreys and Biddle, about ready to close business, 311; agrees to take agency, 310; cotton shipped to, 306; organized in Liverpool, 304.

Humphreys, Mays, draws up report, 311.
 Hunt, Gaillard, writes about South Carolinians, 123.
 Hunter, Humphrey, mentioned, 45.
 Hunter, J. L., signs circular, 306.
 Hunter, Theophilus Lenoir, marker unveiled in honor of, 281.
 Hyman, John D., edits Vance's newspaper, 107.

I

Illinois convention, discussion of Negro problem in, 242; issue of slavery in constitutional conventions in, 241.
 Illinois, "Poor Whites" present problem in, 240; society centers around certain families, 246.
Indian Under Reconstruction, cited, 200n.
 Indiana, attitude toward abolitionism in, 242; issue of slavery in constitutional conventions in, 241; "Poor Whites" present problem in, 240; Quaker communities transferred to, 244.
Industrial Resources of the Southern and Western States, cited, 315n.
 Iredell, James, advocates second convention, 296; appraised Williamson, 30; attends convention, 292; defeated, 289; supports publicity for ratification, 290.
Irrepressible Conflict, cited, 318n.
 Irving, Washington, ambassador to Spain, 249.
Isaac Franklin, Slave Trader and Planter of the Old South, cited, 233n.
Itasca, libel filed for, 134.

J

Jack, James, mentioned, 46.
 Jackson, Andrew, mentioned, 40; picture of, received, 265; wins victory, 68.
 Jackson, T. J., teaches in V. M. I., 362.
 James, Hinton, marker dedicated to, 80.
 Jay, Mrs. John, mentioned, 35.
Jefferson Davis, case against owners and crew of, 134.
 Jefferson, Thomas, expresses opinion on amendments, 294; praises Williamson's work, 29.
Jeffersonian Democracy in South Carolina, book received, 283.
 Jenks, Leland Hamilton, work cited, 303n.

Johnson, Herschel V., mentioned, 276.
 Johnson, J. J., signs letter, 145.
 Johnson, Thomas Cary, reviews *The Other Half of Old New Orleans*, 77.
 Johnson, William Samuel, appraises Williamson, 30.
 Johnston, Robert D., changes mind about soldier votes, 112.
 Johnston, Samuel, attends convention, 292; elected President, 299; exchanges letters with President, 297.
John Tyler: Champion of the Old South, received, 86; reviewed, 364.
 Jones, Allen, defeated, 291.
 Jones, Hamilton C., appointed commissioner, 133; letter from, 141; sketch of, 141n.
 Jones, John J., appointed deputy, 134.
 Jones, Wesley, exhibits commission, 133.
 Jones, Willie, attends convention, 292; denies charges, 291.
 Jordan, Simon, teaches at University, 150n.
Joseph E. Brown and the Confederacy, reviewed, 274.
Journey in the Back Country, cited, 238n.
 Judd, Charles H., lectures on "An Evolving Conception of General Education," 79.

K

Kellar, Herbert A., work cited, 240n.
 Kendell, George W., may be identified, 77.
 Kendrick, Benjamin B., elected vice president, 84; leads discussion at meeting, 191.
 Kerner, Joseph, mentioned, 349.
 Kettle, Thomas, his idea of slave labor, 324n.
 King, Rufus, appraises Williamson, 28.
 King, Thomas Butler, draws up report, 312.
 Kirk, Russell Amos, appointed fellow, 283.
 Knight, Edgar W., reviews *A Century of Social Thought*, 79.
 Kramsch, Samuel, mentioned, 349.
 Krey, A. C., delivers address, 192.

L

Lacy, Dan, edits volume, 85; state supervisor of Historical Records Survey, 85.
 Ladu, A. I., attempted discharge mentioned, 181.
 Lanning, J. T., presides at meeting, 191.

- Larkin, Thomas Oliver, comes to North Carolina, 332; goes to California, 332; letter from, 333; letter to, 334, 335, 336, 337, 339, 341, 342, 343, 344, 346.
- Larkins, John, letter from, 336.
- Lash, I. G., mentioned, 354.
- Lay, George W., reports on military needs, 16.
- Lea, Luke, mentioned, 189.
- Leach, J. T., addresses letter to voters, 19.
- Leake, Walter F., letter from, 161; recommends appointment, 66.
- Lee, Robert E., impressed with Vance's speeches, 100.
- Lee, R. W., teaches in summer school, 368.
- Lefler, Hugh T., reviews *Old Homes and Gardens of North Carolina*, 358.
- Legare, Hugh S., enjoys social distinction, 115.
- Leiding, Harriette K., work cited, 118n.
- Leinbach, John, mentioned, 349.
- Lenoir, William, attends convention, 293; elected to convention, 296; mentioned, 300.
- Lester, Charles F., mentioned, 44.
- Letters of My Father to My Mother*, cited, 124n.
- Letters of the Members of the Continental Congress*, cited, 26n.
- Lewis, McDaniel, delivers address, 83.
- Life and Correspondence of James Iredell*, cited, 289n.
- Life and Times of Edmund Pendleton*, received, 85; reviewed, 363.
- Life in Prairie Land*, cited, 239n.
- Life, Letters and Speeches of James Louis Petigru*, cited, 118n.
- Life of Braxton Craven*, reviewed, 69.
- Life of Henry Laurens*, cited, 232n.
- Life of Zebulon B. Vance*, cited, 100n.
- Lillington, Alexander, marker dedicated to, 80.
- Linden, Fabian, article, *Repercussions of Manufacturing in the Ante-Bellum South*, 313-331.
- Litchfield, James, Jr., appointment of, 58.
- Littlejohn, James L., signs letter, 145.
- Litton, Gaston, article, *Enrollment Records of the Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians*, 199-231; work cited, 199n.
- Lloyd, Arthur Young, *The Slavery Controversy, 1831-1860*, reviewed, 278.
- Locke, Matthew, elected to convention, 296.
- Lockmiller, David A., appointed head of department, 368; book received, 86; *History of the North Carolina State College of Agriculture and Engineering of the University of North Carolina, 1889-1939*, reviewed, 180; receives appointment, 83; to write biography, 368.
- Lockwood, Thomas J., captain of privateer, 134.
- Logan, John, engages in the practices of medicine and planting, 116.
- Logan, Rayford W., book received, 369.
- Long, Augustus White, birth of, 182; book received, 86; *Son of Carolina*, reviewed, 182.
- Lonn, Ella, her book received, 194. "Lost Colony," presented, 368.
- Lowndes, Rawlin, advertises reward for Negro slave, 234.
- Lucas, Jonathan, his son marries, 118.
- Lucas, William, marries, 118.
- Lundy, Benjamin, receives gift, 121.

M

- Mabry, William Alexander, book received, 369; reviews *Caldwell & Company: A Southern Financial Empire*, 188; reviews *Child Labor Legislation in the Southern Textile States*, 74; teaches in summer school, 193.
- Mackinney, Loren C., representative of membership committee, 83.
- MacLaine, Archibald, active for convention, 288; advocates second convention, 296; attends convention, 292; critical of Williamson, 33; quoted, 289; supports publicity for ratification, 290.
- Maclay, William, comments on Williamson, 31.
- Madison, James, asks consideration of amendments, 298.
- Mallett, Edward J., letter from, 157.
- Mallett, G. W., owns saw mill, 335.
- Mallett, Peter, reports on North Carolina affairs, 16.
- Mangum, Willie P., letter from, 251, 266; mentioned, 42; recommends appointment, 66.
- Manly, Charles, believes Holden has chance, 110; expresses approval, 113; receives commission, 252n.
- Manly, John H., delivers letter, 253; procures appointment for brother, 252; sketch of, 252n.

- Manual of North Carolina*, cited, 112*n*.
 "Manufacturing During the Ante-Bellum and War Years," cited, 316*n*.
 Marckland, Joseph, presents money, 349.
 Marley, S. B., attends meeting, 84.
 Marsteller, L. H., letter from, 264.
 Martin, Alexander, approves of Williamson's work, 32; defeated, 291; delegate to Philadelphia, 288.
 Martin, I. F., mentioned, 147.
 Martin, Jacob, to hire out slave, 233.
 Martin, Wm. K., signs letter, 145.
 Mason, John Young, mentioned, 261*n*; poses for portrait, 151*n*; sketch of, 61*n*; visits Chapel Hill, 147.
 Massie, Nathaniel, helps organize constitutional convention, 247.
 "Masterpieces of Art at the New York World's Fair," illustrated lecture delivered, 82.
 Maverick, Samuel, begins career as clerk, 118; marries, 119.
 Maybank, Burnet R., delivers address, 281.
 McClannahan, Wm. S., signs letter, 145.
 McDuffie, James, marries, 118.
 McDowell, Joseph, attends convention, 293; elected to convention, 296.
 McDuffie, George, defends Bank of United States, 309; quoted on shifting to manufacturing, 318; signs circular, 306; stung by criticism, 309.
 McFerrin, John Berry, *Caldwell & Company: A Southern Financial Empire*, reviewed, 188.
 McGeachy, J. A., spends summer doing research, 368.
 McGehee, Nathan, signs circular, 306.
 McIntire, David, letter from, 339, 342.
 McKay, James J., sketch of, 252*n*.
 McKelway, A. J., becomes area secretary, 76.
 McMillan, Mrs. R. L., writes introduction, 358.
 McPherson, Elizabeth Gregory, edits *Unpublished Letters from North Carolinians to Polk*, 37-66, 139-166, 249-266.
 McPherson, O. M., appointed special agent, 227.
 McRae, Alexander, letter to, 333; written to, 332.
 McRae, Duncan K., letter from, 252.
 McRee, Griffith J., work cited, 289*n*.
 Meade, Robert Douthat, reviews *One Hundred Years at V. M. I.*, 361.
 Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence, celebrated, 281.
 "Mediaeval Culture, Ecclesiastical or Secular," subject of discussion at historical meeting, 191.
 Memminger, C. G., makes prediction on Negro mechanical labor, 323.
Memoirs of W. W. Holden, cited, 13*n*.
 Merriam, John C., lectures on "Science and Belief," 79.
 Methodists, in the United States, 238.
 Michael, Olin Bain, his book received, 194.
 Mickey, Solomon, paid for assistance, 352.
Migration of British Capital to 1875, cited, 303*n*.
 Miller, Guion, appointed special commissioner, 226; reports number of Cherokees, 226.
 Miller, James T., letter from, 264; nominated as naval officer, 264*n*.
 Miller, William L., letter from, 49.
 Mills, Robert, notes sixteen benevolent societies, 121; work cited, 121*n*.
 Minnich, Lawrence Arthur, Jr., appointed an assistant, 283.
Mississippi and the Compromise of 1850, mentioned, 356.
Mississippi, Storm Center of Secession, 1856-1861, mentioned, 356.
Mississippian, quoted, 307.
 Mitchell, Elisha, letter from, 148.
 Mitchell, Elisha, moves to Chapel Hill, 148*n*.
 Moore, Peter Weddick, Negro educator, mentioned, 269.
 Moore, Thomas J., captures schooner, 135.
 "Morals of Slavery," article, cited, 123.
 Moses, Robert, lectures on "Plan and Performance," 79.
 Moratock Primitive Baptist Church, annual pilgrimage held at, 269.
 Moulton, Harold G., lectures on "One Hundred Years of Economics," 79.
 Mudge, Eugene Tenbroeck, book received, 85; *The Social Philosophy of John Taylor of Caroline*, reviewed, 273.
 Mullay census roll, the first of the Eastern Band of Cherokees, 206.
 Mullay, John C., makes report, 219; receives instructions, 207.
 Murphy, Edgar G., helps organize the Labor Committee, 76.
 Musser, John, suggests title to article, 313*n*.

My Diary North and South, cited, 123n.

"My First Chapel Hill Commencement," paper read, 81.

N

Nathaniel Chase, captured, 135.

Naylor, William, operates counting house, 118.

Negro in North Carolina Politics since Reconstruction, book received, 369.

Nelson, C. H., handles census roll, 207; reports difficulty, 204.

Nesbit Company, amount of capital stock paid in, 328.

Newbold, N. C., mentioned, 270.

New Echota treaty, ratified, 207.

New England, factory girls return to free states, 328; missionary decries confusion, 243; fail to make distinction in social orders, 243; settle in small numbers, 240.

New Orleans, has labor organizations, 322.

Newsome, Albert Ray, article, *North Carolina's Ratification of the Federal Constitution*, 287-301; attends meeting, 84; delivers address, 81; *The Presidential Election of 1824 in North Carolina*, reviewed, 67; presides at meetings, 83; teaches in summer school, 193.

Noe, A. C. D., delivers address, 83.

Nolte, Vincent, agrees to act as supervisor, 311; work cited, 311n.

North Carolina: A Guide to the Old North State, received, 85; reviewed, 267.

North Carolina Bibliography, 1938-1939, article by Mary Lindsay Thornton, 167-179.

North Carolina, books published during the year, 167; claim for leadership, 288; control of legislature of, 289; counties opposed to constitution, 295; delegation works for repeal of habeas corpus, 109; democratic revolution in, 67; discontent in, 2; expected to join Union, 30; gives title to Cherokee nation, 201; her provincialism inherent, 295; Historical Commission, holds meeting, 368; publishes leaflets, 370; publishes volumes, *The County Records, Nash-Yancey*, 85; large Indian settlements in, 215; Library Association, holds annual session, 84; Medical Association, mentioned, 80; moves slowly, 301; navy captures vessels, 132; navy rendezvous at Hatteras, 132;

political scenes in, 2; public meetings held demanding peace, 5; Quaker Communities transferred from, 244; recommends imposing tax on goods, 325; receives salvage money, 135; should choose her destiny, 91; suspension of the writ of habeas corpus in, 95; to remain true, 93; treated badly by the Confederacy, 3.

North Carolina on the Eve of Secession, cited, 323n.

North Carolina Public School Bulletin, carries historical articles, 369.

"North Carolina's Ratification of the Federal Constitution," address delivered, 81; article by Albert Ray Newsome, 287-301.

North Carolina Society, Colonial Dames of America, unveils marker, 368; Society for the Preservation of Antiquities, chartered, 82. Northwest Ordinance, prevents large migration, 240.

Nott, Eliphalet, mentioned, 70.

O

Ogden, John Patton, appointed fellow, 283.

Ogden, Robert Nash, sketch of, 37n.

Ohio, attitude toward abolitionism in, 242.

Ohio Bridge, book received, 369.

Ohio, issue of slavery in constitutional convention in, 241.

Ohio, Quaker communities transferred to, 244.

Ohio Valley Society, revivalism and emotionalism in, 245.

Old Homes and Gardens of North Carolina, reviewed, 358.

Old Northwest, camp meeting spread into, 244; effect of Southern migration to, 239; social contributions of the South to, 239.

Old Time College President, mentioned, 70.

Olmstead, Frederick L., work cited, 233n, 319n.

"On Rewriting the History of Reconstruction," paper read, 83.

One Hundred Years at V. M. I., received, 86; reviewed, 361.

"One Hundred Years of Economics," published lecture, 79.

Other Half of Old New Orleans, reviewed, 77.

Otis, Samuel Alleyne, appraises Williamson, 30.

Owsley, Frank L., reviews *Antislavery Origins of the Civil War in the United States*, 186; teaches in summer school, 193.

- Page, Walter Hines, mentioned, 183.
 Parker, Robert J., edits *Letters, California's Larkin Settles Old Debts: A View of North Carolina, 1847-1856*, 332-346.
 Parks, Joseph Howard, his book received, 283.
 Parson, Charles, owns vessel, 134.
 Patterson, R. M., favors appointment, 59; mentioned, 66.
 Payson, Arthur L., delivers note, 142; recommended, 250.
 Payson, John L., mentioned, 250n.
 Pearson, C. C., reviews *The Life and Times of Edmund Pendleton*, 363.
 Pender County, celebrates homecoming day, 80.
 Pennington, Edgar Legare, book published, 194.
 Pennington, J. L., demands peace, 4.
 Peoples, Albert, pursues horses, 355.
People's Press, supports Holden, 105.
 People's ticket, wins victory, 68.
 Perry, B. F., writes about races, 124.
 Perry, E., paid for pursuing man, 353.
 Perry, Hext McCall, work cited, 124n.
 Perry, Lewis, signs letter, 145.
 Perry, Percival, takes courses at Duke University, 282.
 Person, Thomas, attends convention, 293; denounces Washington, 291; elected to convention, 296; leads radicals, 289; opposes sending Williamson, 35.
 Petigru, James Louis, marries, 118.
 Pierce, William, describes Williamson, 30.
 Pigford, James B., letter from, 334.
 "Place Names in North Carolina," address delivered, 82.
 "Plan and Performance," published lecture, 79.
Planters of St. John's, work cited, 122n.
Police Control of the Slave in South Carolina, cited, 114n.
Political History of the Cherokee Nation, cited, 200n.
 Polk, Ezekiel, mentioned, 46.
 Polk, James K., letter to, 37, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 65, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 151, 152, 153, 155, 157, 158, 161, 164, 166, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 255, 257, 259, 261, 264, 265, 266.
 Polk, Lucius J., copy of letter from, 262n; mentioned, 37; letter from, 251.
 Polk, Marshall T., marries, 263n.
 Polk, Thomas, mentioned, 45; heads committee, 45.
 Polk, William, mentioned, 143.
 Polk, William H., marries Mary Corse, 166n.
 "Population Studies and History," subject of discussion at historical meeting, 191.
 Postell, Jane Amelia, marries, 118.
 Pound, Roscoe, lectures on "American Juristic Thinking in the Twentieth Century," 79.
 Powell, John C., appointed bailiff, 137.
 Pratt, Joseph Hyde, elected president, 82; tours eastern part of state, 281.
 Pratt, W. H., signs circular, 306.
Presidential Election of 1824 in North Carolina, reviewed, 67.
 Preston, William, exposed for investing in manufacturing, 321.
 "Principal Chiefs of the Cherokee Nation," cited, 199n.
 "Problems of Research in Medieval History," 192.
Protector, libel filed for, 134.
 "Publication Policies for Archival and Historical Agencies," paper read, 84.
 Pucketts, Betsy, good eats at home of, 150.
 Puett, Minnie Stowe, *History of Gaston County*, reviewed, 72.
- ### Q
- Quakers, in the United States, 238.
 Qualla settlement, number of Cherokees in, 216.
- ### R
- Rainwater, P. L., mentioned, 356.
 Raleigh, centennial celebration of completion of capitol observed, 281.
Raleigh Progress, supports Holden, 105.
 Raleigh Workingmen's Association, challenges revenue law, 322.
 Rapp, Marvin August, appointed an assistant, 283.
Ratification of the Federal Constitution in North Carolina, cited, 30n.
 Ravenel, Mrs. St. Julian, corroborates position of merchants, 117.
 Rayner, Kenneth, entertains Henry Clay, 143n; letter from, 142; marries Susan Spratt Polk, 256n.
Rebel War Clerk's Diary at the Confederate States Capital by J. B. Jones, cited, 100n.

"Recent Developments in the Archaeology of Georgia," address delivered, 82.
Recollections of a Varied Life, cited, 237n.
Reconstruction in North Carolina, cited, 110n.
Records of Federal Constitution, cited, 30n.
Records of the Moravians in North Carolina, in the press, 370.
 Reich, Christopher, mentioned, 349.
 Reid, David S., letter from, 147.
 "Religion in the Last Hundred Years," published lecture, 79.
Reminiscence of Charleston, cited, 115n.
Repercussions of Manufacturing in the Ante-Bellum South, article by Fabian Linden, 313-331.
Repressible Conflict, 1830-1861, reviewed, 184.
Republican Court, cited, 28n.
 "Restoration of Tryon's Palace," address delivered, 83.
 "Restoring the Ancient Town of Bath," address delivered, 83.
 Reynolds, Richard F., complains of opposition, 320.
 Reynolds C., mentioned, 250.
 Richmond, has labor organizations, 322.
 Rights, Douglas LeTell, edits document, *The Horse Society*, 347-355.
 Rights, John mentioned as clerk, 350.
 Ripple, Henry, mentioned, 349.
Rise of American Civilization, cited, 321n.
 Rittenhouse, David, on committee, 27.
 Robinson, William Morrison, Jr., article, *Admiralty in 1861. The Confederate States District Court for the Division of the Pamlico of the District of North Carolina*, 132-138; work cited, 132n.
 Roosevelt, Theodore, mentioned, 184.
 Ross, John, changes opinion, 205; heads branch of Cherokee nation, 200; opposes census taking, 204.
 Russell, J. C., attends meeting, 191; presents paper, 83; promoted to associate professor, 192.
 Russell, Robert R., his idea of industrial backwardness in South, 331n; work cited, 320n.
 Russell, W. H., work cited, 123n; writes about South Carolinians, 123.
 Rutherford, Griffith, attends convention, 293.
 Rymer, James, estate sold, 233.

S

Sand Town settlement, contemplates moving, 216.
 Satchwell, S. S., marker dedicated to, 80.
 Saunders, Romulus M., letter from, 39, 142, 249.
 Savannah, has labor organizations, 322.
 Sawyer, Frederick A., introduced to President, 251; sketch of, 251n.
 Schirmir, Jacob, mentions many duels, 120.
 Schmidt, George P., his work mentioned, 70.
 Schultz, Harold, appointed fellow, 282.
 "Science and Belief," published lecture, 79.
 Scotch-Irish Presbyterians in the United States, 238.
Sea Witch, libel filed for, 134.
Secession and Restoration of Louisiana, mentioned, 356.
Secession Movement in Alabama, mentioned, 356.
 "Secession Movement in Florida," mentioned, 356.
Secession Movement in Virginia, mentioned, 356.
Secession Movement in North Carolina, received, 86; reviewed, 356.
Secession Movement in the United States, 1847-1852, mentioned, 356.
Secession Movement, 1860-1861, mentioned, 356.
Sectionalism and Internal Improvements in Tennessee, 1796-1845, received, 86; reviewed, 271.
 "Serbian Folk-Songs," address delivered, 82.
 Sevier, A. H., mentioned, 66.
 Shanks, H. T., mentioned, 356.
 Shober, Charles E., letter from, 65; sketch of, 65n.
 Shober, Nathaniel, elected clerk, 350.
 Shore, Henry, Jr., mentioned, 349.
 Shryock, R. H., mentioned, 356.
 Sides, J. G., becomes treasurer, 354; mentioned, 355.
 Siler, census roll, discussed, 210.
 Siler, David W., appointed special agent, 210; enters upon duties, 211; makes census roll, 203; makes report, 219.
 Simington, A. W., designated committeeman, 228.
 Simmons, James, quoted on qualifications of young man, 119.
 Simms, W. G., work cited, 122n.

- Singleton, Richard, his daughter marries, 118.
- Sisk, Glenn Nolan, appointed an assistant, 283.
- Sitterson, Joseph Carlyle, awarded fellowship, 282; book received, 86; reads paper, 84; *The Secession Movement in North Carolina*, reviewed, 356; reviews *Sectionalism and Internal Improvements in Tennessee, 1796-1845*, 271.
- Sketch of the Agricultural Society of St. James Santee*, cited, 116n.
- Sketches of the History, Life, and Manners in the West*, cited, 238n.
- Slaveholding in North Carolina: An Economic View*, cited, 317n.
- Slavery Controversy, 1831-1860*, reviewed, 278.
- Smith, C. H., teaches in summer school, 193.
- Smith, Ezekiel Ezra, Negro educator mentioned, 269.
- Smith, F. H., mentioned, 361.
- Smith, Nathaniel, enters upon census work, 204.
- Smith, Thomas, to hire out three slaves, 233.
- Smith, William, on committee, 27.
- Snowden, Yates, work cited, 122n.
- Social Philosophy of John Taylor of Caroline*, received, 86; reviewed, 273.
- Society for the Preservation of Antiquities, holds meeting, 81.
- Society, Manners, and Politics in the United States*, cited, 237n.
- "Society's First Branch," address delivered, 83.
- Sociology for the South*, cited, 321n.
- Solon Robinson, *Pioneer and Agriculturist*, cited, 240n.
- "Some Effects of Rapid and Continuous Population Change," paper presented, 83.
- Son of Carolina*, received, 86; reviewed, 182.
- Sorokin, Pitirim Alexandrovitch, lectures on "Socio-Cultural Trends in Euro-American Culture During the Last Hundred Years," 79.
- South, agitation for manufacturing in, 313.
- South as a Conscious Minority*, cited, 316n.
- South Carolina, aristocracy strengthened in, 118; benevolence in, 120; Christmas vacation in, 127; cock-fighting in, 128; dancing in, 129; dancing schools in, 129; duelling in, 120; factorage not derogatory to social standing, 117; hunting in, 129; law the road to political preferment in, 115; love of state manifested in, 122; number of poor whites in, 315; patriotic celebrations in, 125; political activities, 126; production of rice and indigo in, 232; religious scruples in, 124; social strata in, 114; Society, founded, 121; sports in, 124; tournaments in, 128; white population divisions in, 114; young men expected to enroll in militia in, 122.
- South, cheap labor in, 315; cotton mills reporting profits in, 314; inducements offered manufactures, 314; main cultures of life in, 237; movement for home industry in, 313; religious life in, 237; Russell's idea of industrial backwardness in, 331n; slaveholders fight establishment of manufactures in, 320; social life in, 237.
- "South's Development: The Population Factor," subject of discussion at historical meeting, 191.
- Southern contributions to social order, discussed, 248.
- Southern Contributions to the Social Order of the Old Northwest*, article by John D. Barnhart, 237-248.
- Southern industrial opportunities, committee to popularize, 316.
- Southern influence on society appraised, 247.
- Southern manufacturing, significance of, 331.
- Southern migration, to Old Northwest, 239.
- Southern population, percentage of foreign born in, 316.
- Southern states, banks suspend specie payments in, 311.
- Spach, Adam, Jr., mentioned, 349.
- Sparks, Jared, reviews history, 34.
- Spaight, Richard Dobbs, active for convention, 288; attends convention, 292; delegate to Philadelphia, 288.
- Speight, Jesse, mentioned, 66.
- Spencer, Cornelia Phillips, mentioned, 183.
- Spencer, Samuel, attends convention, 293.
- Spratt, L. W., expresses apprehension, 323.
- St. Andrew's Society, founded, 121.
- Stanley, W. L., delivers address, 281.
- Starbuck, D. H., suggests petitions be printed, 92.
- Starbuck, Ed., mentioned, 349.

Starbuck, Paul, mentioned, 349.
 Starbuck, William, mentioned, 349.
 State Art Society, holds annual meeting, 81.
State Journal, appraises Holden's peace efforts, 8.
 State Literary and Historical Association, holds annual meeting, 81.
Stateburg and its People, cited, 128n.
Statesmen of the Lost Cause, book received, 194.
Statistics of South Carolina, cited, 121n.
 Steele, John, attends convention, 292.
 Stephens, Alexander H., mentioned, 276.
 Stephenson, Wendell Holmes, reviews, *John Tyler: Champion of the Old South*, 364; teaches in summer school, 193; work cited, 233n.
 Stevens, Henry R., book received, 369.
 Stimpson, S. D., pursues horses, 355.
 Stockton, Daniel, mentioned, 349.
 Stockton, Joseph, pursues horses, 355.
 Stone, David W., letter from, 46, 54, 59, 60; receives appointment, 57; receives surprise appointment, 58.
 Strange, Robert, letter from mentioned, 255.
 Stringfield, Susan Jane, letter from, 344.
 Strong, George V., appointed attorney, 132.
 Stroup, H. S., teaches at Wake Forest College, 282.
 Stuart, J. E. B., impressed by Vance's speeches, 100.
 Stulz, John, receives pay, 353.
 Sully, Daniel, paints portrait of Polk, 65n.
 Sully, Thomas, begins portrait, 151n.
 Sumter, Thomas S., work cited, 128n.
 Survey of Federal Archives, completing work, 285; issues mimeographed inventories, 84.
 Swain, David L., letter from, 145, 261; letter to, 23; marries Eleanor White, 263n; talks with Holden, 10.
 Swanton, John R., chairman of commission, 369.
 Sweet, William W., work cited, 245n.
 Swetland, S. H., appointed to make census roll, 214; makes census roll, 203; makes payments, 218; makes reports, 219; reports for duty, 215; submits report, 217.

Swiggett, Howard, work cited, 100n.
 Sydnor, Charles S., presides at meeting, 191; receives grant-in-aid, 283; reviews *The Repressible Conflict, 1820-1861*, 184; reviews *The Slavery Controversy, 1831-1860*, 278.

T

Tar Heel Editor, book received, 194.
 Tate, Robert, identified, 340n.
 Tatum, Georgia Lee, work cited, 2n.
 Taylor, Carl C., discharged, 181.
 Taylor, James H., complains of opposition, 320; makes statement, 329.
 Taylor, John, mentioned, 273.
 Taylor, Joseph Pannel, sketch of, 263n.
 Taylor, Rosser Howard, *The Gentry of Ante-Bellum South Carolina*, 114-138; teaches in summer school, 282; work cited, 317n.
 Teague, M. E., pursues horses, 355.
Territory of Indiana, book received, 283.
 Thacher, James, appraises Williamson, 28.
 Thacher, W., feels stigma of trade, 116; writes about Christmas, 127.
 "Thomas Bray's Associates and Their Work Among the Negroes," published, 194.
 Thomas, Thomas K., signs letter, 145.
 Thompson, Charles, on committee, 27.
 Thompson, E. A., appointed commissioner, 138.
 Thompson, Edgar T., reads paper, 191.
 Thompson, Robert T., book received, 369; reviews *The Life of Braxton Craven*, 69; reviews *North Carolina: A Guide to the Old North State*, 267.
 Thornton, Francis A., signs letter, 145.
 Thornton, Mary Lindsay, article, *North Carolina Bibliography, 1938-1939*, 167-179.
 Thurston, Tho. G., letter from, 335.
 Tiffin, Edward, helps organize constitutional convention, 247.
 Todd, Mary, mentioned, 246.
To Make Men Free, a historical pageant presented, 81.
 Tompkins, D., work cited, 313n.
 Tooke, Thomas, work cited, 304n.
 Toombs, Robert, makes political address, 127.
 Townes, Geo. F., letter to, 126.
 Townes, S. A., letter from, 126.
Transit, libels filed for, 133.

Trenholm, W. L., work cited, 117*n*.
 Trenholme, Louise Irby, work cited, 30*n*.
 Tucker, W. T., pursues horses, 355.
 Turner, Daniel, letter from, 261; sketch of, 261*n*.
 Turpin, William, wills money to societies, 127.
 Turtt, Thomas E., signs circular, 306.
 Tyler, John, mentioned, 366.

U

Underwood, George W., handles census roll, 204.
 United States, attempts to regulate cotton in, 302; De Soto Commission created, 369; first frontier of, 237; flag raised at sunrise, 300; migration of Germans and Scotch-Irish in, 237; passes Indian removal act, 203; religious elements in, 238.
Unpublished Letters from North Carolinians to Polk, edited by Elizabeth Gregory McPherson, 37-66, 139-166, 249-266.

V

Vance, Rupert B., reads paper, 191.
 Vance, R. B., advises Governor Vance, 13.
 Vance, Zebulon B., anticipates party split, 11; confronted with grave problem, 1; elected governor, 1; expresses determination on peace movement, 89; makes speeches in the state, 102; publishes proclamation, 15; receives large vote, 111; speaks at Statesville and Taylorsville, 97; speaks to North Carolina soldiers, 100.
 Van Doren, Carl, work cited, 27*n*.
Virginia Iron Manufacturing in the Slave Era, cited, 322*n*.
 Vogler, John, Jr., paid for pursuing Negro, 352.
 Vogler, Rothhas, paid for pursuing Negro, 352.

W

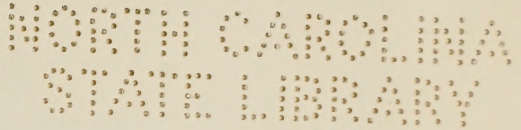
Waddell, Haynes, appointment of, 155; mentioned, 38.
 Waddell, Hugh, letter from, 37, 40, 42, 151, 155.
 Waddell, James Fleming, sketch of, 63*n*; receives a lieutenantcy, 253.
 Wagstaff, H. M., work cited, 34*n*.
 Wallace, Daniel, advises the study of law, 115.
 Wallace, David Duncan, work cited, 232*n*.

Walker, J. Knox, mentioned, 50.
 Walker, William, orders payment, 350.
 Walton, John, pursues horses, 355.
 Ware, N. A., signs circular, 306.
 Washington, George, inauguration of, 288.
 Watie, Stand, heads branch of Cherokee nation, 200.
 Watson, William M., takes oath as clerk, 133.
 Wauchope, Robert, delivers address, 82; joins faculty, 368.
 Webster, Daniel, mentioned, 49.
 Weller, Sam, mentioned, 78.
 Wheeler, John H., letter from, 41, 45, 51, 53, 59, 65, 265.
 Whettle, Conway, nominated by President, 49.
 Whitaker, Exum L., sketch of, 166*n*.
 White, James, offers reward for Negro slave, 234.
 White, Melvin J., mentioned, 356.
 White, W. C., appointed court crier, 134.
 Wilder, Gaston Hillary, sketch of, 57*n*.
 Wiler, S. V. S., mentioned, 305.
 Wiley, C. H., advises Vance, 13.
 Wilkes County, citizens extend invitation, 96.
William McGilvery, libel filed for, 134.
 Williams, John, defeated, 291.
 Williams, Nicholas L., letter from, 158; mentioned, 147; sketch of, 158*n*.
 Williams, Wm. P., signs letter, 145.
 Williamson, Hugh, appears in many rôles, 28; attends Federal convention, 26; delegate to Philadelphia, 288; his career appraised, 35; his education and training, 27; marries, 31; serves in legislature, 26; supports publicity for ratification, 290; takes seat in Congress, 26.
 Wilmington, has labor organizations, 322.
 Wilson, Catherine, marries, 263*n*.
 Wilson, Laura, marries, 263*n*.
 Wilson, Woodrow, mentioned, 184.
 Winkler, Henry, paid for assistance, 352.
 Wolfe, John Harold, his book received, 283.
 Wommack, R. A., paid for feeding horses, 355.
 Woodbury, George, mentioned, 66.
 Woodward, C. Vann, reviews, *The Social Philosophy of John Taylor of Caroline*, 273.

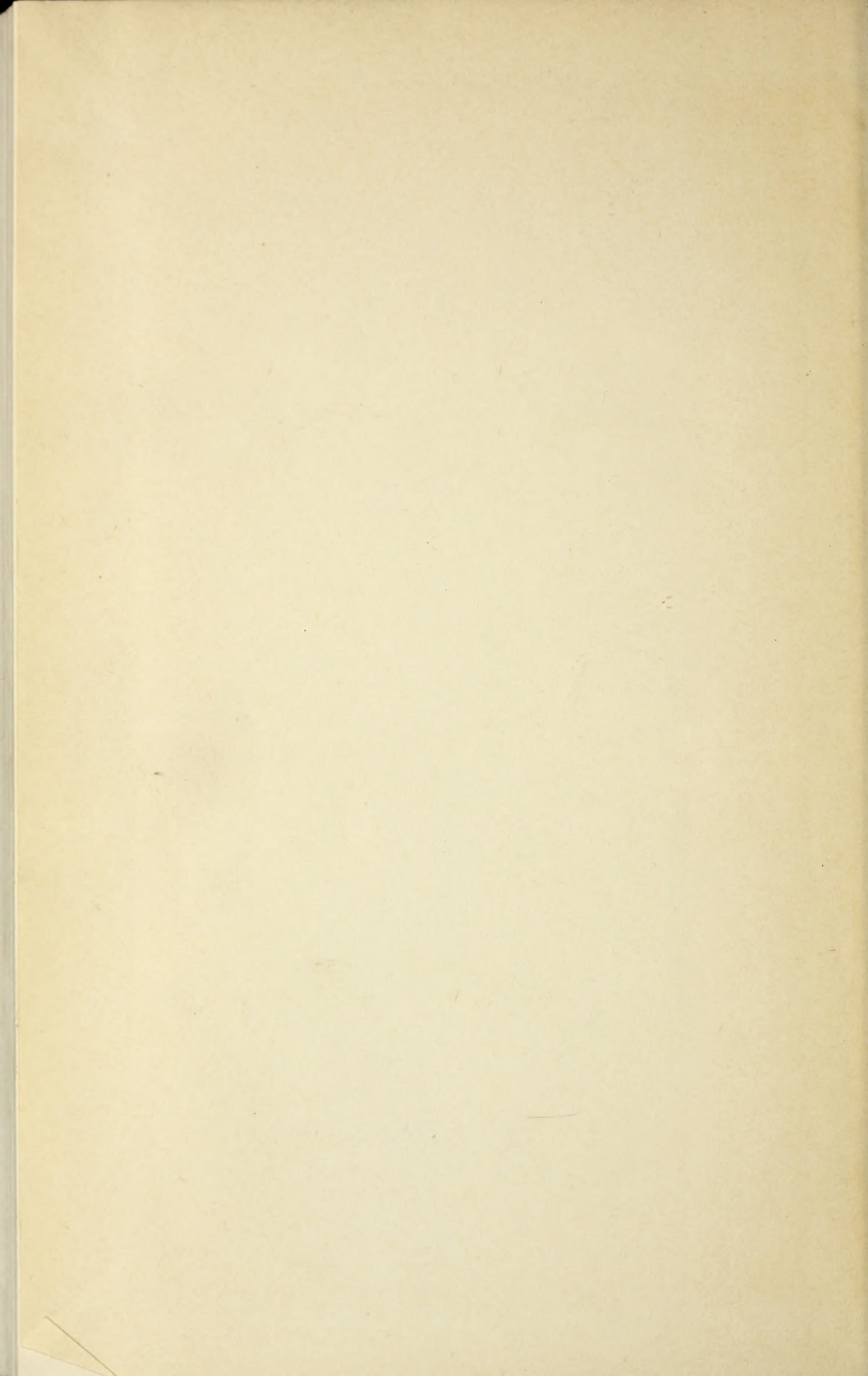
Work Projects Administration,
archaeological project approved,
193.
Worth, J. M., assured about place, 7.
Worth, Jonathan, encourages peti-
tions, 92; gives little support, 6;
stands on Conservative platform, 4.
Wortham, George W., sketch of,
151n.
Wortham, James L., mentioned, 152.
Worthington, Thomas, helps organ-
ize constitutional convention, 247.
Wright, Joshua G., letter from, 264.

Y

*Yadkin College, 1856-1924: A His-
torical Sketch*, book received, 194.
Yancey, Benjamin C., teaches law,
115.
Yates, Richard E., article, *Governor
Vance and the Peace Movement*,
1-25, 89-113; reviews *History of
the North Carolina State College
of Agriculture and Engineering of
the University of North Carolina,
1889-1939*, 180.
Young, Wiley W., signs letter, 145.



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